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Editor's Notes

THE keenly awaited Report of the Royal Commission on Local Government in England was published in June. Chapter One summarises the main conclusions and sets out clearly in the opening paragraph the purposes for which local government exists:

"The pattern and character of local government must be such as to enable it to do four things: to perform efficiently a wide range of profoundly important tasks concerned with the safety, health and well-being, both material and cultural, of people in different localities; to attract and hold the interest of its citizens; to develop enough inherent strength to deal with national authorities in a valid partnership; and to adapt itself without disruption to the present unprecedented process of change in the way people live, work, move, shop and enjoy themselves."

Whether society is that of a sophisticated, industrialized, developed country, or whether society is that of a simpler, agricultural, developing country, the true purpose of local government is one and the same. The objectives of new states facing the "unprecedented process of change", whether at national or local level, can be identified with the purposes that the Royal Commissioners have set out. Much inevitably depends on the ability of the administrative machinery to make the whole development process work smoothly and efficiently. These matters are closely examined in our present issue.

Mr. Ademolekun discusses the Guinea administration which is dominated by and oriented to the single all-powerful political Party. A considerable degree of national integration has been achieved despite much inefficiency resulting from a system where promotion for an administrator depends not on his competence but on his political militancy. "The crucial point here" as the author concludes "is that the technical skill and mental attitude that the complex administration of a developing country demands, may not be the same as those demanded by (Party) militancy."

Dr. Rahman makes a comparative study of the political theories upon which Basic Democracies in Pakistan and *Panchayati Raj* in India have been based. Looking at the results of putting theory into practice he finds, in Pakistan, administratively competent local units with an effective role in rural development, the centre having given strong support to, and maintained a large measure of control over institutions that it created. In India, however, the States and not the Union Government at the centre, were made responsible for establishing the three-tier local government system which has had little effective impact on rural life – democratic, autonomous bodies without strong support or direct control from the centre. Long term however, Dr. Rahman sees some hope for Indian modernization through populist democracy, while he has considerable reservations about the prospects in Pakistan unless greater scope for the democratic process is soon allowed.

Mr. Pasteur examines the Correspondence Training system for local government employees which was set up in Uganda with United Nations assistance, and which now operates within the Institute of Administration at

Kampala. While the scheme has allowed many to obtain this type of training for whom residential courses could not possibly have been provided, it would seem that the wastage rate has been very high and the number who have passed the examination stages very small. It is too early to judge whether the objective of more competent local government officers is being achieved, certainly a lot of useful knowledge must have been gained, although one must hope that not too much reliance is placed on more advanced but unqualified trainees giving instruction to their junior colleagues.

Dr. Bhambri examines the background of one year's successful competitors for places in the Indian Higher Civil Service. He finds that those from the Indian Oxbridges, those with pre-service teaching experience and those with post-graduate degrees have an unfair advantage over other candidates, and besides, come themselves mostly from the "upper brackets" of society so that all too many who pass through the dragon gate have scant appreciation of the social circumstances of those whom they will administer.

Finally, Professor Alderfer describes the far from happy state of local government in Panama where the system is held in low esteem – understandably so with local autonomy fragmented by independent Boards in control of major functions, with excessive national dominance over local bodies and with quite inadequate sources of revenue available to operate satisfactory social and other essential services. In conclusion Professor Alderfer sets out the suggestions which he made as a consultant with United States AID in Panama for improving the machinery of local government and *inter alia* recommending a new Ministry of Local Development, and municipal responsibility for community development.

Politics and Administration in West Africa: The Guinean Model

By LADIPO ADAMOLEKUN

Mr. Adamolekun is a Research Fellow at the Institute of Administration, University of Ife, Nigeria.

THE relationship between politics and administration poses an intriguing question to which people continue to propose different solutions. In West Africa as well as in many other new states of Africa and Asia, attention is focused on the relationship that exists between politicians and administrators and the political and administrative structures within which they operate. A close look at the situation in West Africa reveals that there are almost as many patterns as there are countries. In spite of this diversity however, one basic characteristic has been found: the desire of politicians to use the prominence they received during the pre-independence nationalist struggle to establish their supremacy over administrators. In this article we shall examine the pattern of relationship that has emerged in Guinea, where politicians have effectively established their supremacy over administrators within interlocking political and administrative structures.

Before examining what has happened in Guinea, let us briefly look at the situation in West Africa in general. The most striking point to make is that the nature and results of the struggle between politicians and administrators have been appreciably affected by the two colonial heritages involved. In anglophone countries, where there were small bureaucratic elites who looked up to Whitehall as their model, the struggle sometimes led to serious conflicts as under Nkrumah in Ghana.[1] In Nigeria, the struggle first resulted in an open breakdown of trust between the political and the civil service elites but shortly before the advent of the Military, a *modus vivendi* was developing whereby both tacitly agreed to share the national cake between them at the expense of the toiling masses.

The situation was different in the francophone countries for two reasons. First, the indigenous administrators the French left behind were too few to present any effective opposition to the politicians. This was the result of the excessive discrimination against African recruitment to the French colonial civil service. Secondly, French colonial administration did not distinguish between politics and administration as much as the British did and in the fusion that prevailed, it was politics that was the more emphasized. Until after the War, both colonial regimes made virtually no distinction between political and administrative personnel and functions but while some distinctions were increasingly introduced in anglophone areas in the fifties, the French Fourth Republic governments allowed considerable fusion in both fields. This

[1]Some Ghanaian civil servants involved in this struggle were sent to the detention camp while others left Ghana to work elsewhere.

experience was carried over to the post-independence era by francophone African politicians who asserted themselves as superior to the administrators.

Today the situation has changed slightly in most of these countries. Military rule in both anglophone and francophone states has helped to boost the prestige of administrators at the expense of "discredited politicians". This is true of Upper Volta, Ghana, Dahomey and to some extent, of Nigeria. In a few francophone countries like Senegal, Niger and the Ivory Coast, where the nationalist politicians still remain in power, circumstances like the presence of numerous French expatriates in their Civil Services has beclouded the issue.[2] Guinea is the only country that has so far developed a definite pattern. How has this happened? What is the new pattern like? Has it any future? These are the questions we shall now attempt to answer.

As a francophone country, the victory of politicians over administrators in Guinea has its roots in the nature of the French colonial administrative system already discussed. There are a number of additional circumstances peculiar to Guinea that have contributed to this victory. These centre around the activities of the *Parti Democratique de Guinée* (P.D.G.). From about 1954, the P.D.G. had become a well-organised mass party based on the doctrine of democratic centralism and was already resolved to undermine the French colonial administrative system in Guinea. One important aspect of its strategy was to take over as many administrative functions as it could. There was a good illustration of this in 1954 during the visit of the French Overseas Minister to Conakry. Without the police, party militants kept order and directed traffic.[3] Another success of the party was at the village level where P.D.G. Committees became rival centres of power to the Village Chiefs who represented the colonial administration. Interestingly, the French administrators did nothing to stop this trend.

Gradually the party's plans began to yield results and in many parts of Guinea, "party justice was sometimes acceptable when that of Chief or French judge was not."[4] P.D.G. acquisition of administrative functions was greatly facilitated by its electoral successes in municipal, local and territorial elections held between 1956 and 1958. In 1956 it won control of all the municipalities, won control of 98% of the *Conseils villageois* (Village Councils) in 1957, and in the same year it won 56 out of 60 seats in the Territorial Assembly. Finally, in May 1958, the party captured the majority of the *Conseils de Circonscription* (Local Advisory Councils) established to replace the *Chefs de Canton* who had been effectively eliminated from local administration in December 1957.

Electoral successes were only a means to an end, the end being the systematic take-over of administrative functions from the French. Thus, the party's majority in the *Conseil de Gouvernement* (commonly referred to as the *Loi-Cadre* Government) was responsible for the elimination of the *Chefs de Canton* from local administration.[5] P.D.G. ministers in this Government also

[2] In Senegal for example, the respective degrees of separation and fusion are difficult to determine.

[3] Ruth Morgenthau; *Political Parties in French-speaking West Africa.* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964) p. 242.

[4] Morgenthau, *op. cit.*, p. 247.

[5] An account of this historic meeting that led to the elimination of the Chefs de Canton from local administration is given in: "Guinée: Prélude a l'Indépendance" (*Présence Africaine*).

succeeded in making the French accept the need to train Guineans as deputies to the French *Commandant de Cercles*. This was the origin of the first francophone School of Administration – under the name of *Ecole Territoriale d'Administration*. The School was to recruit and train Guineans for this specific function. Although there was a competitive entrance examination, recruitment was largely based on political considerations and virtually all those recruited were P.D.G. militants.[6] This action indicates that not only was the party willing to take over administrative functions from the French, it also planned to base recruitment on political criteria. That the French could do nothing about these developments shows clearly the fragility of the French colonial administrative structure in Guinea during this period. This explains why a Guinean government publication has compared it to "a pack of cards ready to fall at the first touch."[7]

This was the situation when the 1958 referendum took place. Then Guineans massively rejected General De Gaulle's famous Franco-African Community and opted for independence. French pride was injured and General de Gaulle withdrew all French administrators from Guinea, from the most senior to the most junior. Guineans in the Civil Service at this time numbered less than 1,000 in all ranks of the Service. Nearly half of this total were teachers and only about fifteen occupied high-rank posts.[8] Faced with this situation, the party immediately decided to put the party administrative machinery at the service of the state. This was a clear case of necessity but from what we have described above, it is true to say that it was also a logical follow-up of an existing belief and practice. Central administration now came under party control and the Army and Police were entrusted to reliable militants. Considering the euphoria of independence and the need to put trustworthy citizens in all positions of importance, these steps were readily seen as desirable, not to say essential.

It must, however, be mentioned that Guinean administrative needs after the precipitate departure of the French could not entirely be met by the party and the trained cadres available. The country was helped in the technical and educational fields by African intellectuals from all over francophone West and Central Africa and by men of good will from other parts of the world. Needless to say, all these helpers were sympathisers of the party's basic options. Thus, the significance of the 1958 referendum for our theme was that it confirmed an existing trend towards Party control and gave it a larger operational scope. By 1958 then, the party had largely realized its objective to submerge administration in politics.

In the unique circumstances of Guinea described above – circumstances that did not exist together in any other country, the achievement of political supremacy over the administrators was gained with relative ease, with few of the tensions and conflicts that arose elsewhere in West Africa. Perhaps we may

[6]Information based on interviews, July, 1968.

[7]"Some Aspects of Staff Problems in Guinea". Government publication in: *Staff Problems in Tropical and Sub-Tropical Countries* a publication of the Institut International des Civilisations differentes (1961).

[8]Statistics from *Etat de Fonctionnaires Guineens en service avant l'independence*, compiled by the Ministry of Civil Service and Labour, August 1964.

also add the influence of Sékou Touré, the President, who had emerged as the unchallenged popular leader of the P.D.G. and the nation. The immediate problems concerned the efficiency of the administration whose leading members lacked both basic administrative skills and experience and whose chief qualities were enthusiasm and devotion to P.D.G. doctrine. Although some newly-promoted Guineans proved capable, in general the administration lost in efficiency and effectiveness. There were no immediate conflicts since all were keen on making independence work in spite of the withdrawal of the French presence. It was not long, however, before it became obvious that the new party militants-turned-bureaucrats were resolved to keep their new posts and prevent the recruitment of Guinean intellectuals who were returning home from abroad. This was the era of anti-intelectualism in Guinea.[9] Party supremacy asserted itself although this was at the expense of a more efficient administration.

We shall now look more closely at the pattern that has emerged. The latest development of this new pattern is that it has been given an ideological justification. Here is a brief explanation.[10] The Guinean Revolution recognizes the people as the source of all power, political, cultural and administrative. The party which is the "incarnation" of the people controls this power and must see that it is used in the interest of the nation. When the party designates citizens to perform certain functions – political or administrative – it does so on the understanding that the power entrusted to it was undivided and it has no mission to divide it. Thus, it can delegate the same person to perform functions in different fields. Current revolutionary terminology calls these officials "new men" (*l'homme nouveau*) whose essential characteristic is expected to be their polyvalence. In Guinean terms, polyvalence is no more than the ability to combine political and administrative functions. As one of the leaders put it, the administrator who is Governor of a Region should be able to perform the political functions of the party leader at the regional level and *vice versa*.[11]

Below is a diagrammatic representation of current administrative and political structures in Guinea. For the purposes of our theme, we are concerned with the relationship between the two structures and between the personnel that operate them. I wish to state at once that what follows largely reflects official view which I did not verify in the field. Apart from the fact that I was not in Guinea for sufficiently long to undertake the necessary verification, it is in fact, doubtful if any research in this direction can yield worthwhile results at present since most of those to be interviewed would be likely to uphold the official view. That the existing pattern has lasted for about ten years is a strong case for studying it even though the study was based largely on the views officially held in Guinea.

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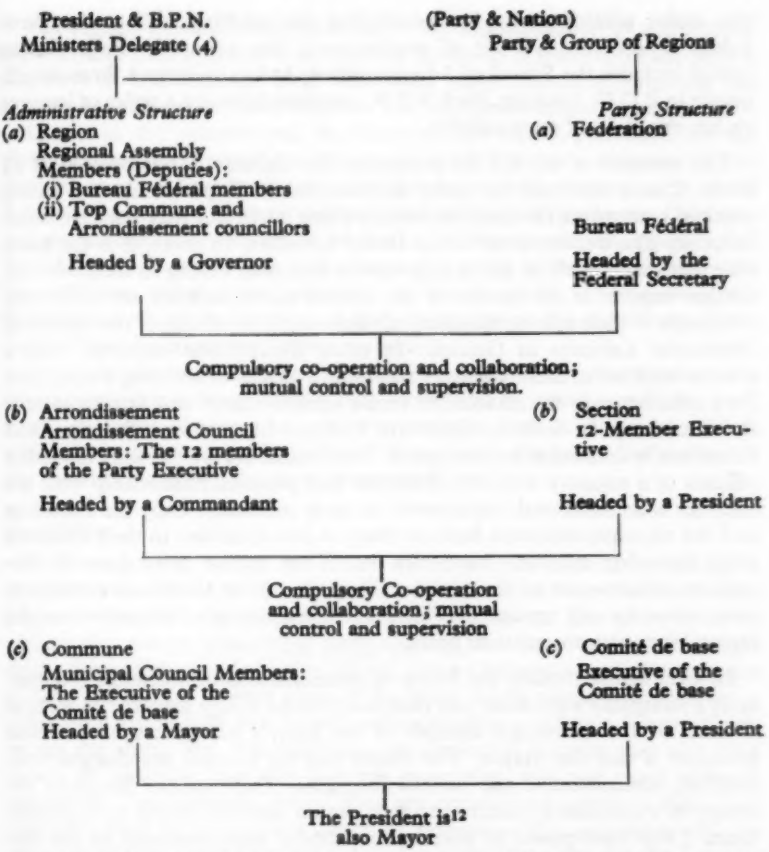
[9]"The criterion of the individual's worth is no more his academic qualification but the degree of his revolutionary involvement" – Sékou Touré in his Address to the 2nd Congress of the J.R.D.A., the Youth Wing of the P.D.G., September, 1961.

[10]P.D.G. doctrine is contained in any of Sékou Touré's later volumes. Volume 13 is recommended to interested readers.

[11]Interview with the Party boss and Secretary to the Bureau Politique National (Party Executive) in July, 1968.



At the national level the functions of the *Bureau Politique National* (B.P.N.) illustrates party supremacy over the administration in Guinea. The seven members of the B.P.N. constitute the paty executive and are also super-ministers sharing between themselves the various aspects of Guinean life. The President is charged with general supervision under the title of '*Responsable Suprême de la Révolution*' (Supreme Spokesman of the Revolution). The other six members share governmental duties as follows: Finance, Diplomacy, Economy, Defence of the Revolution, Commerce and Social Affairs. Each formulates policies in his own sphere and is also responsible for the control and execution of these policies. Together, they are responsible for the recruitment, promotion, transfer and discipline of senior administrators (this role may extend to middle-rank officials especially in matters of discipline) in Government Departments and in the national enterprises.[13] Between May and July 1968, they also participated in the training of prospec-

[12]This represents the ideal sought by Guinean leaders. This identification of Party and administrative official is not feasible at the Arrondissement and Regional levels because of the range of activities and the nearest alternative is the compulsory co-operation and collaboration demanded of the two officials concerned.

tive senior administrators by constituting the teaching staff at the Party School where the first set of graduates of the country's *Polytechnique* (which includes the School of Administration) had to undergo a three-month course in P.D.G. ideology. Each B.P.N. member delivered a series of lectures on his own field of responsibility.

The example of the B.P.N. permeates the Guinean administration at all levels. Those who hold key posts in Government Departments and in the national enterprises also hold important party posts and may perform other functions like leadership of Trade Union branches. In short, it is the party élite that shares political and administrative functions among its members. All foreign experts in all sectors of the central administration are effectively restricted to their role of technical advisers. A proof of this is the nature of Ministerial Cabinets in Guinea. In other francophone countries with a similar institution, these Cabinets represent a means of securing a firm hold for a minister over the established senior administrators and foreign experts in his ministry. In Guinea, Ministerial Cabinets have no such functions and do not really constitute an institution. Their members are virtually like other officials of a ministry with the difference that personal relationship with the minister is an additional requirement to party militancy. Only the President and the six super-ministers have as many as two members in their Cabinets while the other ministers have only one. They are no more than the immediate collaborators of the minister. They are sure of Government employment when for any reason (provided it is not a charge of opposition to the regime) they have to quit their posts.

In local administration the fusion of politics and administration is apparently a straightforward affair (see Diagram). At the village level the Municipal Council of the Commune consists of the party's village executive whose president is also the Mayor. The Mayor and his Council are charged with political, administrative and judicial functions. Their judicial functions are mostly of a conciliatory nature and they cannot sentence people to imprisonment. They have power to associate or employ party militants in the discharge of their duties – keeping birth, marriage and death records (*état civil*), maintenance of dispensaries and roads and so on. They also form civil vigilante brigades. Perhaps their most important function is said to be the mobilisation of all citizens for economic and social development projects elaborated from above. Next to the Village Commune is the *Arrondissement* headed by a Commandant. The party's executive of twelve members at the *Arrondissement* level constitutes the Arrondissement Council. The Commandant who is appointed by the President heads the Council and is by right a member of the party executive. In practice he is no more than a 13th member of the party executive. The administrative, political and judicial functions delegated to the Council are performed by party militants employed by the Council. At both Commune and Arrondissement levels, co-operation is officially encouraged between groups of Communes and Arrondissements where singlehanded actions are likely to prove ineffective.

[17]The official statute governing the Civil Service, especially those dealing with appointments, placements, promotion and discipline are very similar to those for a career service but they are not followed in practice. Party whims have replaced these statutes.

The highest local administration unit is the Region headed by a Governor appointed by the President. The Regional Assembly is made up of the party's executive at the Regional level with some party leaders representing the Communes and the Arrondissements. The traditional francophone Prefect is unknown in the scheme and his functions are jointly performed by the Governor and the Federal Secretary who heads the party executive in the Region. As at the Commune and Arrondissement levels, the employees of the Regional Assembly are party militants and are responsible to the Governor and the Assembly. The crown of the local administrative structure is provided by a Minister Delegate who is in charge of a group of Regions.[14] There are four of them and they are appointed by the President. They provide the immediate political leadership and help to emphasize the supremacy of the party. Their functions are largely supervisory.

From the above, it is clear that while two separate structures exist – the administrative and the political – they correspond to, and dovetail into, each other. In terms of personnel, we have also seen how at all levels, officials within both structures perform mixed roles. And in the fusion that exists it is the political leadership that is supreme at all levels.

Conclusions

It is not easy to talk of the future of the present structure. Nothing is predictable in African politics these days. It is however, clear that the present regime would like the pattern to become permanent. The party seeks to achieve this aim by introducing party ideology as a compulsory subject in all institutions of learning from the primary to the University level. There is also a Party School for further training for those whose ideological training is considered insufficient. It is hoped that such training will help future officials accept the *status quo*. The emphasis on ideological training may also be a means of ensuring that the younger generation will not react violently against the "promotional block" they are certain to meet in all fields. For example, most of the current heads of services in the ministries and the directors of state enterprises are political recruits of the last decade. Some of them remain in the middle-rank grade while the young men who will work under them may belong to a higher grade. There is certainly need to prepare newly-qualified students for this kind of situation. Whether party ideology will prove adequate to the task is another question.

It is rather too early to assess the working of the Guinean pattern. The last ten years have not been easy and in fact it seems true to say that the country has just got over the most difficult period of its post-independence history. The first set of trained senior administrators passed out of the National School of Administration in July 1968. Most of the institutions training middle-grade officials have also recently started to send out qualified men and women. Until more of these trained cadres are produced we cannot correctly judge the efficacy of the Guinean pattern.

There are, however, some observations that can be made at the present stage. First, we shall consider what the Guinean Government has gained by adopting this pattern. By recognizing only one élite group, Guinea has not

[14]These ministers are comparable to the Provincial Commissioners in some anglophone countries.

experienced the acute rivalry that has developed between a bureaucratic and a political élite in some West African countries. Such rivalry generates distrust and inability to work together. The results have been disastrous: precious time is wasted on irrelevant wranglings while pressing tasks of development suffer and above all, the complex task of national integration is left in abeyance. The relative absence of these problems is largely responsible for the appreciable progress already made in national integration in Guinea.[15] Another important gain for the country is the low cost of its administration.[16] There has been no need for using Government funds to run a separate party administration – a need that has been the cause or excuse or both of much corruption in some other countries. Finally, it seems that the system has succeeded appreciably in getting individual citizens to participate in administration especially in development activities. This is likely to help accelerate economic and social progress because of the effectiveness of using local ways in getting things done.

Since the whole pattern is based on a one-party system, there is an automatic exclusion of certain elements. An important result of this is that qualified Guineans who would have been useful in the administration are today outside their country. The incompetence and lack of experience of many senior administrators cannot be attributed entirely to the new system; the French share a part of the blame. Training may help obviate these deficiencies. A more serious problem is the absence of a career service. According to the current practice, the objective is not to make administrators look upon their work as a career. Placement, promotion, security of tenure, transfer and discipline are all determined by the administrator's political militancy. The result is that mediocres who show great militancy may secure more important posts than some more intelligent and competent administrators who happen to be less militant. The crucial point here is that the technical skill and mental attitude that the complex administrtaion of a developing country demands, may not necessarily be the same as those demanded by P.D.G. militancy. Finally, there is the delicate question of deciding whether P.D.G. administrators are party militants rather than bureaucrats. As long as party leaders do not hear rumours of "subversion", they seem to be satisfied that party militancy is the order of the day. There has, however, been less confidence of late and the President has been condemning some administrators for developing bureaucratic attitudes. Meanwhile the Party has declared war on this "bureaucratic bourgoisie".[17]

It seems clear in the light of this analysis that the Guinean pattern has both its advantages and its problems. We have, however, agreed that it is too early to pass a valid judgment. The ultimate significance of the Guinean experiment is that it will enable us to see whether a totally politicized administration can thrive in West Africa and to what extent such an administration can cope with the task of modernization in a developing country. Its success or failure is likely to influence developments in other West African countries.

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[15]See footnote 17.

[16]There is no suggestion here that the colonial salary structure was reduced. Like in most other West African countries, the structure has been preserved. Revolutionary zeal does not reach that far!

[17]*R.D.A. – P.D.G.* (Party Review) No. 28 pp. 116–120.

Theories of Administrative and Political Development and Rural Institutions in India and Pakistan*

By A. T. R. RAHMAN

Dr. A. T. Rafiqur Rahman, formerly a Faculty member of the Academy for Rural Development, Comilla, East Pakistan, and one-time Assistant Professor of International Studies, South Western University, Tennesee, is now Reader in Political Science, Dacca University, Pakistan.

THIS paper attempts to explore the administrative and political consequences of *panchayati raj* and basic democracies against the background of recent theories of development. The paper will cover in five sections the nature of these structures, their activities, administrative impact and political impact, with some concluding remarks.

The Nature of Panchayti Raj and Basic Democracies

Panchayati raj and basic democracies were born partly out of experiences with pioneering rural community development in India and Pakistan, namely, the Community Development programme of India (C.D.) and the Village Agricultural and Industrial Development programme of Pakistan (V-AID). Both programmes were formally introduced in 1952; specific programmes of action were implemented in 1952 and 1953 respectively in India and Pakistan. It is by comparing C.D. and V-AID – the first-phase instrumentalities of rural development – that we may better grasp the nature of *panchayati raj* and basic democracies, really the second phases of rural development in those countries.

While both phases have programmatic as well as structural content, the first is action-oriented and emphasizes programmes; the second underscores structure and is oriented towards a legal/political-administrative framework.[1] Whereas the contents and mechanisms of specific programmes of action are essential elements of the C.D. and V-AID, the *panchayati raj* and basic democracies provide only the legal, structural framework to plan and act, without outlining any specific plans of work. This difference is significant for students of comparative politics because it indicates a shift in emphasis from

*This article is a shortened version of a paper originally presented at the Southeast Asia Development Advisory Group (U.S.AID) Seminar on Administrative Development, Carmel, California (U.S.A.), November 24–26, 1967.

[1]See the distinction embodied in Pakistan's First and Second Five-Year Plan documents in the respective chapters on Village AID and basic democracies: Government of Pakistan, National Planning Board. *The First Five-Year Plan* 1955–60 (Karachi, 1957), Ch. XIII, and Government of Pakistan, Planning Commission, *The Second Five-Year Plan* 1960–65 (Karachi, 1960), Ch. V. Note that the same distinction applies to the C.D. and *panchayati raj* in India. United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs, *Report of a Community Development Evaluation Mission in India*. (New York, 1959), p. 48. The Indian Planning Commission defined *panchayati raj* as: "A system of democratic institutions at the village, block and district levels set up under state legislation." *The Third Five-Year Plan* (New Delhi, 1961), p. 761.

"participation" and "change" to "order" and "institution-building" and underscores the importance of public structures in social and economic development; this explains in part why the C.D. and the V-AID are usually referred to as "programmes" and the *panchayati raj* and the basic democracies as "institutions".

Another distinction of importance is that the pioneering instruments represent a comprehensive socio-economic movement for transforming traditional, dependent, stagnated rural life, through voluntary means, into modern, self-sustaining, dynamic entities, while the reformed institutions – *panchayati raj* and basic democracies – represent a quite limited attempt to develop politico-administrative structures at the sub-national level. Thus the first phase is understood and interpreted more in socio-economic terms of change and modernity; the second more in political terms of power and authority. Yet another distinction lies in the considerable foreign influence in ideas and finance on the C.D. and the V-AID, and the remarkable indigenous character of *panchayati raj* and basic democracies.[2]

Both *panchayati raj* and basic democracies were designed to be development mechanisms as well as political institutions. But while developmental administration was emphasized in basic democracies, the political aspect became the primary occupation of *panchayati raj*. These are nascent institutions of "prismatic character" seated in a bureaucratic citadel which, it is expected, will bring some measure of democratic order into the highly personalized authoritarian society of the sub-continent. On the whole, an examination of the objectives and basic features of these institutions indicates their mixed character and their unsuitability to the conventional Western classification.

Activities

Some writers trace the origins of *panchayati* or village government in India to remote antiquity.[3] However, the recent roots of modern *panchayati raj*, or

[2]See Government of Pakistan, *A Report on Agricultural Extension Work in the U.S.A. and Reorganization of Extension Service in Pakistan* (Karachi, 1953). Most of the foreign technical assistance for the V-AID came from the U.S. foreign aid agency and the Ford Foundation. Also Jack D. Mezirow, *Dynamics of Community Development* (New York, 1963), p. 51.

The Balwantray Mehta Study Team sought to renovate rural India by "a dispersal of machinery and devolution of authority" through *panchayati raj*. They proposed the establishment of a three-tier institutional structure with specific decision-making powers in matters relating to management of local affairs. Government of India Planning Commission, Committee of Planned Projects, *Report of the Team for the Study of Community Projects and National Extension Service* (New Delhi, 1957), 3 vols. As one author rightly says, "The Report (Balwantray) is a master blue print, a sort of bible for *Panchayati Raj*. The whole concept of democratic decentralization in India is based on this report. The existing institutions of Panchayati Raj in India are modelled on this Report". *Chawla, op. cit.*, p. 5. In addressing a public rally in Lyallpur fifteen days before the introduction of the basic democracies system on 27 October 1959, President Ayub said, "The scheme of Basic Democracies has been evolved by us after a careful study of the experience of other countries and the special conditions prevailing in our own. There is no need for us to initiate blindly the type of democracy to be found in other countries. We have to work according to the requirements of our own nation and the genius of our own people." Syed R. A. Jafri, *Ayub – Soldier and Statesman* (Lahore, Pakistan, 1966), p. 54. To see how the plan of basic democracies actually developed through notes, memoranda, and conferences, see A. K. M. Mohsen, *The Comilla Rural Administration Experiment – History and Annual Report* 1962–63 (Comilla, Pakistan, 1963), p. 9, and Appendix C–1.

[3]See R. L. Khanna, *Panchayati Raj in Punjab* (Chandigarh, India, 1966), pp. 1–23.

democratic decentralization lie in a variety of commission reports, particularly that of the Mehta Committee in 1957. This report proposed the establishment of a three-tier institutional structure with specific decision-making powers in matters relating to management of local affairs. It emphasized two aspects of *panchayati raj* – its autonomous character and elective nature. Following these recommendations, many Indian states, in varying degrees, adopted this model of a three-tier system of local government to be vested in three locally elected bodies: a directly elected *panchayat* at the village level, a *panchayat samiti* at the block level and a *zila parishad* at the district level. The specific role, function and finances of each council were defined, and emphasis was laid usually on the *panchayat samiti*. The *panchayat samiti*, which is composed of all the chairmen (the *sarpancha*) of the *panchayats* within a block, is given funds, staff and control over the community development programme within the block. The Block Development Officer, who heads the office and extension staff, is placed under the administrative control of the *pradhan*, the elected chairman of the *panchayat samiti*. The attempt to operate the Western democratic model by separating administration from politics was made at the block level. The *Nyaya* village *panchayats* have both administrative and judicial functions, and a long list of functions falling in almost all known areas of rural society is customarily entrusted to *gram panchayats*. At the district level the *zila parishad*, which consists of the chairmen of *panchayat samitis* and local members of state and union legislative assemblies, has the responsibility to advise, supervise and co-ordinate the functions of the *panchayat samitis* in the district.

Panchayati raj, since its first wholesale adoption by Rajasthan in 1959, has elicited encouraging response from various state governments and increasingly sympathetic treatment from the Union government. Various study teams sponsored by both the Union and state governments have been examining and evaluating specific aspects, such as, elections or finance, as well as the overall institutional framework.

As readers of this *Journal* will be aware, many observers have commented how the *Panchayati* system has failed so far to make the significant impact on the rural life in India for which it was created, how there has been too much conflict between elected members and staff in the field, particularly between Samiti Chairmen and Block Development officers, all to the detriment of rural development programmes. However, in a final assessment, it is generally accepted that *panchayati raj* has awakened political consciousness in the villagers and has kindled a democratic process in rural India. This is the crucial role of *panchayati raj* which, they hope, will generate sufficient institutional dynamism to make panchayats living and useful institutions in India.

The introduction of the Basic Democracies Scheme in October, 1959, was prompted, in Pakistan by the apparent failure of parliamentary democracy, political instability, corrupt administration, and a lack of popular involvement in the process of economic development.

The Basic Democracies Scheme envisioned an integrated and interdependent five-tier system of councils at the union, *thana*, district, division, and provincial levels. Each of the five councils was attached to the civil administration to ensure maximum participation of the people's representatives in

general administration and in development work. This system, it is claimed, provides the basis on which an upward pyramid of a sound political system can be developed. It was given its name because, as Ayub Khan has said, "we wanted it to grow and evolve from the first rung of the political and economic ladder so that it finds roots deep among the people starting at the village level in rural areas and at the *Mahalla* (locality or neighbourhood) level in town".[4] The Second Five-Year Plan echoes similar sentiments. It says: "The institutions of Basic Democracies are devised to provide not only for self-government at the local level, but also for a degree of public representation in administration at successive levels."[5]

At the base of the basic democracies system is the Union Council which replaced the Union Board in East Pakistan. It is an elected body of ten members, each of whom represents about 1,000 people in an area of nearly seven square miles with a population of roughly 10,000. Other councils are composed half of government officials (generally heads of departments) and half of appointed members. The chairman of the Union Council is elected by the members, while the chairmen of the other councils are the chief government officials at each level. The chairman of a lower council is *ex officio* a member of the next higher council. Thus the deliberate mixture of officials and appointed public representatives, the official chairmanship, and the integration of councils through common membership, are aimed at improving trust and understanding between the public and the officials, ensuring effective public participation in the developmental process, and providing a forum for the development of public leadership.

The councils have five main functions: law and order, municipal, developmental, judicial, and elective. The Union Council maintains its rudimentary village police force to ensure peace and security within its area. Union Councils, District Councils, and Municipal Committees (in urban areas) all maintain their respective servicing functions (providing water, sewage disposal, electricity, road construction, sanitation, medical and other basic services) from their own funds. The development functions of these councils involve co-ordination of government programmes, planning and execution of specific government programmes (the Rural Works Programme), and offering assistance and help in carrying out routine servicing operations (inoculation and vaccination programmes). The Union Council is responsible for conciliating minor civil and criminal disputes. The elected members of the Union Councils and Union Committees (urban), commonly known as Basic Democrats, constitute an Electorate Board to elect the President, and the members of the national and provincial assemblies. Nearly eight years have passed since the system was introduced. During this period it received unqualified support and overwhelming encouragement from the government. Annual evaluations, mostly government-sponsored, record the distinct progress made by the system in the direction of developing a viable local political unit, enhancing the mutual trust between officials and public representatives, and executing

[4]Government of Pakistan, Bureau of National Reconstruction, *Dawn of a New Era* (Karachi, 1960), p. 6.

[5]Government of Pakistan, Planning Commission, *The Second Five-Year Plan 1960-65* (Karachi, 1960), p. 111.

development programmes.[6] These reports also urge that Basic Democrats exercise vigilance over the activity of officials. Over the years, government has expanded the powers of these councils and democratized their structure. The Union Councils have been given more power to superintend the local work of the agricultural departments. The public representative sector of *Thana*, District, and Divisional Council membership are now elected. Each of these councils is now provided with an elected vice-chairman, who is a non-official.

However, this encouraging assessment of the basic democracies system is not undisputed. Opposition political parties accept the system only partially. They approve it as a reformed local government machinery but condemn its electoral role. They argue that the purpose of the Basic Democracy electoral system was to undermine the direct franchise and to develop a group of supporters who would sustain the existing regime in power.

Administrative Impact

(*a*) THEORIES OF ADMINISTRATIVE GROWTH

Abstract writings on administrative growth vary in their scope, form and reasoning. A good many scholars, like Pye and Braibanti, limit their scope to administrative and political aspects, follow the inductive approach, and make some prescriptive suggestions. On the other hand, a very small minority among whom Riggs is outstanding, attempt to provide a comprehensive theoretical model to explain various aspects of a transitional society, follow the deductive approach and concern themselves with how things are without making any explicit suggestions for change.[7] In the theory-building of both these groups, the impact of the Western empirical model, as the following paragraphs will show, has been pervasive.

Both groups agree that administration in a transitional society is not an autonomous sub-system as it is in a highly differentiated Western society. It is a part of a complex milieu in which all these structures – political, administrative, economic, communication, and social – are related to one another and are interacting in both apparent and nebulous manners. Since this is the case, these writers maintain that any administrative change, in order to be effective as well as efficient, must entail necessary positive changes in other related structures.

Another feature in common is the close relationship between administrative and political aspects. Though the agreement on the relationship between the administrative and political sub-systems appears to be unanimous, yet for policy and strategic considerations there exists significant disagreement on the emphasis that each of these aspects will receive at a certain time. Two positions are discernible. One position, taken by Fred Riggs and other scholars suggests that administrative development occurs when the political sub-system is developed enough to be able to put restraints on the bureaucracy. Otherwise the bureaucrats may abuse their power, become inefficient and retard the development of the political sub-system. Hence it is argued that the develop-

[6]See *An Analysis of the Working of Basic Democracy Institutions in East Pakistan*, 1962; *Four Studies in Basic Democracies*, 1964. (Reports prepared by the Bureau of National Reconstruction, Government of Pakistan).

[7]For example, Ralph Braibanti, "Administrative Reforms in the Context of Political Growth", Fred Riggs, "Re-Learning an Old Lesson: The Political Context of Development Administration", *Public Administration Review*, XXV (March, 1965).

ment of political aspects should receive priority and any administrative expansion should be accompanied by requisite strengthening of political institutions.

The other position, taken by Ralph Braibanti and supported by others maintains that the bureaucracy in new states should be more developed and Westernized, and its capacity to spread modernizing values will decline if its autonomy is lost. Threats to its autonomy arise from increasing politicization and from its failure, because of lack of resources, to handle the ever-escalating political demands. Hence it is argued that an autonomous development of the bureaucratic sub-system will give it the institutional ability both to meet rising demands and spread modernizing values. Whatever restraints are required to guard against the abuse of its power can be secured through internalization of values, internal institutional checks and legal restraints imposed from the outside by the judiciary.

Scholars agree that following independence, transitional societies declined in both political integration and administrative efficiency. Such a trend appears inevitable and can be proved on empirical evidence and by theoretical reasoning. Pye puts the degeneration process succinctly:

> "The leaders of such nationalist movements have tried to achieve destiny by politicizing, and hence corrupting, the upper reaches of the administrative structures, while allowing the main base of their movements to wither and decline to the point that they can be used to put on ritualistic demonstrations at times of 'elections' or when foreign visitors need to be impressed. When the division between the administrative and political is violated to such an extent, the capacity for effective administration declines and the development of political processes is also stifled".[8]

(*b*) ADMINISTRATIVE IMPACTS OF THE PANCHAYATI RAJ AND THE BASIC DEMOCRACIES

To understand the administrative impact of *panchayati raj* and basic democracies, first we must note, in broad terms, the role played by these institutions in the sphere of administration. Second, we must interpret these roles in the light of the theoretical formulations discussed above.

To evaluate the administrative role we may take two criteria: performance in the planning and implementation of developmental programmes, and de-emphasis of the bureaucratic ethos and the infusion of a participative ethos in the bureaucracy. Studies on *panchayati raj* indicate that the role of these institutions in planning is almost negligible; in implementation of development programmes it has contributed little either to the industrial sector or to raising agricultural productivity. It is, however, admitted that these institutions made wholesome contributions to the "promotion of interest among villagers in primary education."

The Western democratic politico-administrative relationship that is being tried at the *panchayat samiti* level has not yet taken any definite shape. The functioning of this novel experiment depended almost exclusively on the personal relationship between the *pradhan* and the B.D.O. However, several studies indicate the presence of conflicts between *pradhan* and B.D.O. and,

[8] Pye, *The Political Context of National Development*, p. 32.

in consequence, feelings of partisanship among the office and field staff run high. This not only impedes normal functioning of routine administration but severely retards the implementation of development programmes. Personal conflicts and staff partisanship become virulent because of the presence of a confused system of supervision, control and discipline at the *panchayat samiti* level.

The role of basic democracies in planning and implementing development programmes has shown some promising features. Of course, one has to remember that basic democracies, unlike *panchayati raj*, started out primarily as a development mechanism.[9] In addition, as it did not introduce any novel politics-administration dichotomy, it saved itself from the ruinous effects of structural-personal conflicts at various local levels. Be that as it may, the basic democracy councils assisted in improving implementation of government programmes (loan distribution and collection, innoculation and vaccination), planned and implemented their own development (roads, canals, schools) and servicing programmes (street lighting, sewerage), acted as an administrative agency in times of crisis (flood, famine, war), and settled many local disputes through its conciliatory mechanisms. In the sphere of economic development, these councils, through a works programme, have made serious attempt to develop an infrastructure of canals and roads in rural areas. It is probable that local floods have been reduced, drainage has been improved, and better market-to-farm connections have been established. No objective study of the economic impact of these works has yet been made. However, it is possible that some unemployment has been reduced.

Mixed assessments are noticed of the role of *panchayati raj* and basic democracies in the de-emphasis of bureaucratic ethos. It is argued that considering the vast administrative expansion that has taken place in India and Pakistan since independence, no drastic reduction of the bureaucratic ethos is even possible. The development of non-bureaucratic institutions, such as education, press, labour and professions, has been slow; they are, more often in Pakistan than in India, developed under bureaucratic and political control, commonly designated "guidance". Moreover, it is observed that both *panchayati raj* and basic democracies, despite the difference in origin and expectations, have functioned primarily in the agency role rather than as local self-governing units. What happened in the case of *panchayats* was the trimming of political overtones, and in the case of basic democracies, the addition of new political dimensions.

Mere facts and figures do not tell the whole story. These institutions have generated in varying degrees an awakening in the rural masses and leaders, and through frequent contacts the lower-level bureaucracy are becoming increasingly infused with the public ethos and participative considerations. The rise of a neo-traditional leadership, and the political control of *panchayati samiti*, has helped democratize administration at the lower level. In Pakistan, large-scale participation of rural leaders in the implementation of works

[9]See A. T. R. Rahman, *Basic Democracies at the Grassroots* (Comilla, Pakistan, 1962), p. 15.

programme projects is producing similar results. However, some indication of rural leaders' becoming "bureaucratized" is also noticeable.[10]

(*c*) A THEORETICAL INTERPRETATION OF ADMINISTRATIVE CONSEQUENCES

In our discussions of the theories of administrative growth we have noted two conditions under which administrative development is theoretically possible. These conditions are the proper manipulation of administrative ecology, and either rational and autonomous administrative expansion or simultaneous development of the administrative and political aspects. We have further noted a theoretical disagreement on the prospects of administrative development moving in the direction of the Western democratic model.

Both in India and Pakistan, a proper balance has not been achieved in the manipulation of administrative ecology. However, the direction of the manipulation seems different. Emphasis in India was on building something new to replace the colonial pattern, whereas in Pakistan it was kept relatively unchanged in order to suit the conventional system. Too much consideration was given to the existing ecology of administration in Pakistan. The basic democracies system has been made an integral part of the civil administration and statutory local bodies. The official chairmanship of the councils (except the Union Council), official membership, and official supervision and control mark the basic democracies system more as administrative units than as autonomous local bodies. This has, at least, temporarily, brought the influence and prestige of civil administration and traditional public leaders to bear in support of the programme and greatly facilitated its operation. How far this advantage will be off-set in the long term by the discouragement elected members and extension workers may feel at the dominance of official administrators, remains to be seen.

In the case of *panchayati raj*, a certain confusion persists regarding both its popular and legal image. Politicians depict it as a system of comprehensive local self-government: but legally that is a very limited concept.[11] Three different patterns exist at district, block and village level. No substantial transfer of authority has been made from the district administrative bureaucracy to the *zila parishad*; at the block level, power over development programmes has been vested in the *panchayat samiti*, but full control on the key points of supervision, control and discipline of *panchayat samiti* staff has not been surrendered to the elected body. At the village level, effective delegation of responsibilities has not been made to the *gram panchayat*.

For purposes of our theoretical exposition, we are faced with a dilemma. It is argued that administrative growth should give due weight to administrative ecology. The problem arises as to how to decide what this "due weight" should be. In a transitional society, the decision appears to lead to conditions of imbalance. It is an object of theoretical as well as practical scrutiny to predict if a "balanced decision" regarding this weight of administrative ecology is possible in an imbalanced transitional society. More fundamental is the question whether the process of development follows the

[10] See M. V. Mathur and Associates, *Panchayati Raj in Rajasthan* (New Delhi, 1966), p. 290 where it is stated: "While the block level administration is getting somehow democratized there is a trend which indicates that non-officials are getting bureaucratized."

[11] *Ibid.*, p. 278.

unilinear path of balanced increments or the dialectic method of perennial synthesis.

Neither *panchayati raj* nor basic democracies can be regarded as components of rational, autonomous administrative growth. At best, they can be understood as examples of mixed politico-administrative formations. We have to examine how far the political aspects of these systems have been developed to put effective restraints on their administrative aspects. Both *panchayati raj* and basic democracies received sustained political support. Of course, basic democracies, being directly fathered by the Head of State and controlled by the central government, received much more effective political blessings than the states-fathered and politically and administratively heterogeneous *panchayati raj* institutions.[12] However, the focus of political support in Pakistan was mostly the developmental role of basic democracies. Better performance of its developmental efforts (the Rural Works Programme), its political functions (serving as an electoral college for the President and members of the provincial and national assemblies) and its organized associations and membership in the local units of political parties may enable basic democracies, with the passage of time, to exercise effective superintendence over the bureaucracy.

A much more elaborate framework and effective political control of bureaucracy has been established through the units of *panchayati raj*, especially at the block and village levels. However, as was noted earlier, these units are primarily political, and unless they improve their development capabilities, their institutional viability will remain precarious and increasingly vulnerable.

The *panchayati raj* has provided a structure in rural India which is in harmony with India's democratic political framework. It has the potential of moving towards the Western democratic model. However, it can be argued that the fortunes of *panchayati raj* and India's democratic structure are closely related and remain vulnerable to the increasing disillusionment caused by escalating socio-economic stresses. India is one of the few countries in the mid-20th century that is trying to modernize through the system of populist democracy. However, it should be noted, that the foundations of modernization and democratic order – national integration, differentiation and achievement orientation, fundamental rights, rule of law, government by consent – in most Western democracies were laid long before the masses, through universal suffrage, entered into the political arena.

For basic democracies, the prospects of establishing a Western democratic model in rural Pakistan are very slim. What kind of authoritarian pattern it will lead to is as yet uncertain. Basic democrats have not yet emerged as a strong autonomous political force. The political monopoly of the army and civil bureaucracy still appears solid. The future political pattern of rural Pakistan will depend as much on the attitudes of the army and bureaucracy as

[12]The Basic Democracies Scheme was introduced by the Martial Law Government in 1959. Until mid-1962 it was a central subject. Though it was made a provincial subject in mid-1962, the Central Government exerts considerable control on policy development. The *panchayati raj* has always been a state subject. Not only does the pattern of each state differ from that of others, but also the position of *panchayati raj* in state politics and administration varies from state to state.

on the strength of basic democrats and the development of other political and non-political sectors.[13]

Political Impact

(*a*) CRITERIA FOR POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT

Only after the mid-20th century, when international concern for the economic development of new nations demonstrated the multi-dimensionality of change and the crucial significance of politics in the modernization process, have social scientists begun to observe and conceptualize political phenomena and evolve theories of political development.

It is difficult to find in current literature any agreement on the nature and connotations of the notion of political development. However, for the purpose in hand, some features of political development have to be delineated. Political development in the context of new states is regarded as a dynamic process of progression towards achieving, first, an effective institutional framework capable of meeting increasing popular demands; second, a high degree of national integration capable of holding the society in order during the modernization crisis; third, an expansion of responsible participation in the political process; and fourth, a viable civic culture consisting of autonomous and differentiated sectors of society capable of articulating and aggregating interests.

(*b*) POLITICAL CONSEQUENCES

These four criteria of political development shall be used to assess the political consequences of *panchayati raj* and basic democracies.

It is hard to assess the contribution of *panchayati raj* and basic democracies to the development of political institutions in India and Pakistan. The extent to which *panchayti* institutions have taken root is difficult to judge. Their role as overseers of the bureaucracy has not been very effective, nor is their role as developmental mechanisms found to be satisfactory. These institutions have not been able to channel local political aspirations into useful concrete actions: they have failed to regulate pressures on state and national politics arising from the upward mobility of local demands.

The performance of basic democracies, in the light of its limited objectives, seems optimistic. Gradually, but nonetheless surely, it is gaining support in the rural areas. Its performance as a development agency has been satisfactory, though not perfect, and it shows some possibility of exercising restraints on the bureaucracy. Its major contribution has been to develop a pattern of officials and rural leaders jointly working in such productive operations as the Public Works Programme, thus diverting the energy of a vast number of rural leaders from traditional political activities like petitioning, civil disobedience and strikes, to modern leadership roles like organizing programmes, and working our local problems. All these give basic democracies some institutional support but have the effect of overemphasizing its agency role in contrast to its political role.

[13] *This article was, of course, written before the resignation of President Ayub following disturbances in which Basic Democrats were an object of attack by demonstrators notably in East Pakistan.* (Ed.)

Social integration preceded political integration in the West.[14] But in new states political integration came first and social integration has to be deliberately developed by the governments. It is not known if *panchayati raj* has brought a sense of common belongingness to the villagers of India. Certainly, despite variation in forms and starting dates, most states in India have introduced a three-tier structure with similar responsibilities in local affairs. But it is hard to predict if these institutions have infused a sense of common outlook in the members of *panchayats* right across the vast country. Furthermore we have no way of making a final judgement about whether these bodies have been able to forge a sense of unity in the caste-ridden, faction-dominated society of India. Some writers maintain that *panchayats* have thrown out a new-traditional class and reduced the influence of caste beyond village levels; but they also concede that the caste still rules high in Indian villages and that *panchayats* have deepened village factionalism. This has been noted particularly in Rajasthan.

Official sources and foreign scholars agree that the basic democrats are increasingly developing a sense of commonness – a common interest in and approach to various issues – and this sense of identity may in time create a class-consciousness conducive to social integration in Pakistan.[15] A uniform framework introduced throughout Pakistan by the basic democracies and the distribution of equitable governmental attention to the functionaries may also assist in fostering a sense of unity among the basic democrats.

How far this individualized sharing of commonness among the basic democrats has helped to foster unity at the mass level is hard to judge[16]. It is probable that basic democracies has played an important role in maintaining stability in rural areas over recent years. But how far this stability is a reflection of growing integration at the social level is a matter of debate. The phenomenon of participation is very complex. If by participation we mean a right to elect representatives at the lowest level, the villagers in Pakistan participate in electing Union councillors as their counterparts in India participate in electing *sarpanchas*. However, if by participation we mean the experience of responsible work, rural leaders and people in Pakistan participate more meaningfully than their counterparts in India. Mass-level rural leaders in Pakistan are gaining considerable experience of responsible work through scores of Public Works Project Committees, while their counterparts in India are left with no specific role in an operational programme. More than 25,000 rural basic democrats (out of approximately 38,000) worked as chairman/secretary of a Public Works Project Committee during 1963-64 in East Pakistan. However, at the levels above the village (Union Council in Pakistan and *gram panchayat* in India), perhaps rural leaders in India play a more active role than their less vocal counterparts in Pakistan. *Pradhans* and some *sarpanchas*, who hold key positions in standing committees of *panchayat samitis*, are gaining considerable insight into public management. Only recently in Pakistan, the non-official members of higher councils were made

[14]For a discussion on the fusion of culture with political nationalism see: C. J. H. Hayes, *Nationalism – A Religion* (New York, 1960).

[15]Ziring, Asian Survey, XII (February 1967).

[16]For a detailed analysis of how basic democrats in conjunction with bureaucrats have partly dispensed with mass participation in the implementation of the Works Programme, see A. T. R. Rahman, *Public Works Evaluation* 1963–64, pp. 16–18.

elective and given some responsible work (a non-official vice-chairmanship has been created in the District Council).

The relationship of local government agencies with the political parties is undergoing subtle changes both in personal terms and in institutional context. No clear patterns have yet emerged. But it is likely that in India the appearance of *panchayati raj* in state and national politics may have the effect of developing local political parties instead of fostering or strengthening the bonds of the all-India political parties. In Pakistan, the impact may likely be the reverse. As the basic democrats and the government expand their areas of close collaboration and thus de-emphasize the autonomy of basic democracy institutions, it is likely that more and more basic democrats individually will prefer association with the ruling political party. This will further the already existing trend of building one powerful all-Pakistan political party.

Conclusion

From this study of the contrasting systems in India and Pakistan, it seems we are confronted with a dilemma between the Western democratic model of politics and administration, and the process and requirements of modernization in new societies. The process of modernization in the West did not involve deliberate development of national integration and other non-political structures; the foundation of political and administrative development in the West was laid during a period when mass politics had not arisen and the task of economic development was carried out autonomously by the industrial and commercial classes. The situation is the reverse in new countries. The demands on political systems for modernization are great, particularly for economic benefits, social justice, and political participation. Further, the bonds of national integration are tenuous and the foundations of government are very weak. Thus it appears that new states have to attain simultaneously, primarily through the political system, objectives of stability and institutionalization, national integration, economic benefits, social justice, and increasing participation, all of which were achieved in Western democracies at different periods of history and by different evolutionary processes. This basic difference in the context and background of modernization problems reduces the worth of recent developmental theories.

These theories cannot adequately capture and interpret the significance of ecological factors, leadership and the international dimension in the development of institutions in new countries. Basic democracies were developed out of frustrating experiences with the parliamentary system, political instability and economic degeneration. Hence its main objectives were to promote stability, limit political participation and assist in economic uplift. As for the *panchayati raj*, faith in the parliamentary model and expanding political participation dominated the climate of its inauguration. Its primary emphasis was the establishment of a democratic institutional framework for increasing political participation in the management of local affairs.[17] Stability and economic development became secondary objectives. The leadership that

[17]One recent official source reiterates that "the central objectives of Panchayati Raj . . . is working together of all agencies in concert to bring about the widest possible participation in the formulation of plans and their efficient implementation." Department of Community Development and Co-opreation, *Annual Report* 1965–66, p. 5.

fathered these institutions differed in their approach to and expectations from the institutions of basic democracies. The pragmatic Ayub and his bureaucracy had little faith in Western democracy and the politician's capabilities, whereas the ideologically Western-orientated Congress leaders had a strong faith in the parliamentary model and the capability of politicians. Both leadership groups used different criteria in assessing the achievement of the institutions. To Ayub, basic democracies has contributed to stability and economic development; but it may appear that this stability is more personalized than institutionalized and succession is likely to be marred by crisis rather than order. To the Congress rulers, *panchayati raj* is serving its main purpose, namely, expansion of political participation; although such participation without sufficient development orientation may be less conducive to overall development.

In conclusion, we reiterate that the recent theories of administrative and political development are not adequate as a means of understanding and interpreting phenomena in the new states. Moreover, these theories, because of their different orientation, cannot be a good guide to policy-making in developing states. Perhaps for the building of a comprehensive theory we have to wait until we have empirical evidence of some ex-colonial countries attaining modernization. We do not suggest that theorizing be brought to an end; we urge the localization of theory-building efforts in an effort to understand better the dynamics and ethnocentricity of development in various regions and countries. In this attempt to localize theory-development, we need to keep in view two important dimensions of development from the current Western and Communist models: they are the context and the pattern of development. In both these models the context of development is characterized by isolationalism. In addition, another contextual feature has been political and constitutional debate in the Western model and ideological and theoretical dialogue in the Communist model. In the development patterns, a pragmatic-pluralist-limited polity is accompanied by a free economy, press and education, and a graduated direct enfranchisement, whereas an idealist-monolithic-unlimited polity is accompanied by a controlled economy, press, education and universal indirect franchisement.

It is possible that the contest and pattern of development for the new countries may not follow any of these models. As a matter of fact, however desirable it may be, the period of isolationism, which many Western countries enjoyed in their modernization trauma and which China is now following, simply may not be possible for many small developing states. But it is also true that human change has not kept pace with the technological revolution. Man's view of the universe is still conditioned by his group and national perspective.[18] If one wants to compare individual development with national development we have to concede that, as protection and autonomy are needed for healthy development from childhood to manhood, so are relative security, freedom and ethnocentricity needed for the development of institutions in new countries. Hence it may seem necessary to argue for a period of relative isolationism for new states so that the foundations of viable institutions can be

[18] Harold D. Lasswell, *The Future of Political Science* (New York, 1964) p.9.

built. It also seems vital to us that the re-creation of the context of development is necessary and that each society has to devise its own way to achieve this.

As to the pattern of development, it is hard to make any policy suggestion except to be aware of past patterns. However, it seems important to create an atmosphere for intensive theoretical dialogue or political debate. This is what we mean by the localization of theorizing. It is only by keeping our theorizing efforts localized and unabated that one can minimize mistakes and the unnecessary hardship caused thereby. One factor that has had significant influence on the performance of *panchayati raj* and basic democracies, has been the extent of emancipation from foreign ideas that each of these schemes could maintain. The Indian political leadership became so obsessed with the parliamentary model that it missed the reality of Indian society. At the same time the Pakistan bureaucratic leadership grew so frustrated with the parliamentary pattern that it overemphasized reality at the cost of confusion and uncertainty for the future. Maintaining contextual theorizing efforts has the potential, at least, of keeping some harmony between contextual considerations and future ideals.

Correspondence Course Training for Local Government Staff in Uganda

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Background and Origins

UGANDA has undertaken an experiment in local government training which is the first of its kind in tropical Africa. The correspondence course for finance staff which was started at the end of 1964 is now well established, and although there remain considerable problems in maintaining and developing a course of this kind, the experiment is of sufficiently long duration to command the attention of those concerned with training in developing countries.

The finance course has its origin in recommendations made by a United Nations Urban Planning Mission in 1963. The Mission was concerned with the problems of peri-urban Kampala, and it realized that any proposals it made for the allocation of international finance would need to be backed by some indication of the competence of the local authorities concerned to handle the financial administration of capital projects. A survey of the training then available led them to recommend a greatly expanded programme of finance training to be undertaken by the correspondence method. Up to 1964 finance training for the Kingdom and District Administrations[1] and Municipal and Town Councils, many of which employed substantial treasury staffs, had consisted of short-term courses of two or three months for fifteen to twenty students at a time at Nsamizi Training Centre, with overseas professional training for only a very few selected officers. In 1964 the first professional course was started at Nsamizi, a one-year course for twenty students leading to an Accounts Clerk Certificate. While this course was a step in the right direction, it was still only able to cater for a handful of the staff working in responsible positions in local treasuries.

The UN Mission's recommendation was accepted by the Uganda Government, and a correspondence course was started in November 1964 under the direction of a UN expert, with an enrolment of 250 students. The objectives of the course were, as expressed in the detailed proposals made by the Supervisor[2]:

(*a*) To provide free training in local government finance at the lowest possible cost for the greatest possible number of junior intermediate and senior finance officers employed by local authorities and public utilities.

[1] Since the constitutional changes in 1967 these are now known as Local Administrations.

[2] I am indebted to Mr. R. J. Cobley, F.I.M.T.A., who was Supervisor of the course from 1964 to 1968, for providing the statistics contained in this article.

(*b*) To provide Uganda with its own professional qualification and Institute for finance officers.

(*c*) To provide a high standard diploma to assist in measuring an officer's potential for salary increases and promotion.

To a significant extent these objectives have been achieved over the last four years. As a result three important requirements of local government training have been met: first that training facilities should be matched to needs and to the size of local staffs, so that there is a real hope that within a reasonable period there will be competent people to fill the posts ranging from accounts clerk up to treasurer: secondly that training should promote a degree of professionalism in local government, (though not an excessive degree): and finally that training should be closely geared to local needs and free from the influence of qualifications only relevant in other countries.

Staffing and Administration

In 1965 the capacity of the course was expanded to 300 and later to 350. The staffing of the Correspondence Course Unit increased to four with UN and United Kingdom technical assistance, and by the addition of the tutor running the Accounts Clerk Certificate course, which was discontinued at the end of 1964. The tutors were all experienced local government finance officers holding IMTA qualifications, two of them with considerable African experience. In 1967 a reduction of one in the staff of experts was matched later in the year by the appointment of three Ugandan counterpart staff, who are being trained to take over from the experts. These counterparts have been recruited from among the most successful students on the course, and at least one of them has completed the final diploma. During 1967 the enrolment of the finance course was reduced to 300 and then to 250, mainly to allow time for coaching the trainee staff members. The experience has been that in normal circumstances one staff member can deal with 100 students, provided only a small proportion of his time has to be spent on writing course material, up country touring and other duties. With the continued need for up-dating course material and the importance of maintaining personal contact with students, 1 to 75 is likely to prove the optimum staff-student ratio.

In late 1966 a decision was taken by the Ministry of Regional Administrations, which is responsible for local government training policy, that a parallel course in administration should be started by the Correspondence Course Unit in 1967. This course started in January 1967 for 100 local government officers, and the unit was strengthened by the addition of a UN expert with recent experience in a Uganda Municipality. Up to that time a limited amount of administrative training for the staff of urban and rural authorities had continued at Nsamizi Training Centre, but the withdrawal of the two Uganda Government officers engaged on the programme for duties elsewhere strengthened the case for consolidating all local government training in a single unit, and further developing the use of the correspondence method. The case for this was the same as for finance training: the inadequacy of existing courses to cater for the numbers of town clerks, administrative secretaries, committee clerks, chiefs and other administrative staff who needed training: and the need for professional training relevant to local conditions.

From the outset this course was very well supported by a significant proportion of the key administrative staff in local authorities.

During the first half of 1967 the Local Government Correspondence Course Unit was responsible for running all local government training apart from the limited amount undertaken overseas. It was never envisaged that no other forms of residential training would be provided, since it was known that the Institute of Public Administration, when fully operative, would include a local government branch. Nevertheless it is significant that in 1967 the sole effort of local government training was concentrated in the two correspondence courses, providing long-term professional training on a scale not previously attempted in Uganda. The institutional arrangements were modified in 1968 by the transfer of responsibility for the Unit from the Ministry of Regional Administrations to the Institute of Public Administration which was in process of formation. Links with the Ministry will obviously be retained, but among other things the transfer will help in the problem of staffing the Correspondence Course Unit since it is particularly difficult to attract good staff to small training units and to offer them a career that will keep them there for a worthwhile period. It will also enable the correspondence training to be supplemented by short periods of residential training for selected groups of staff and by certain types of specialized training. It is also particularly important that there should be close co-ordination and interchange of ideas between local government training and the mainstream of public administration training and research, lest the former develops an approach which is over-specialized in relation to what seem likely to be the future needs of local administration in African countries.

The Trainees

From the outset the finance course was open to any employee of a local authority or public utility, (such as the Kampala Water Board or the Uganda Electricity Board), who was employed on finance duties and who claimed an adequate command of English. The course did not initially attract more than a few of the senior staff, most of whom had experienced some form of training, (little of it professional), and the majority of students were intermediate and junior level. There has always been a waiting list, but also a fairly high wastage rate due to students losing their initial enthusiasm. It has thus been possible to a large extent to satisfy those on the waiting list within a reasonable time, and at the same time to adjust numbers on the course up or down in the light of the staffing position. Recently the wastage rate has been reduced, partly by the introduction of a simple test for applicants, and partly due to the increasing popularity of the course and its acceptance by Treasury staff as a requirement for career success. An increasing proportion of the trainees are people in key positions in their authorities. The response to the introduction of the administration course showed a higher degree of initial acceptance of the correspondence method by senior staff, but this probably owed something to the success by then being achieved by the finance course. Since places on this course were limited a simple selection procedure was used, based on written applications.

In addition to local authority staff the Unit has accepted a number of members of the Auditor-General's staff in view of their concern with local

authority accounts. Abridged courses in bookkeeping and accountancy are also being provided for two other groups of staff in central Ministries, hospital secretaries and school bursars. If the extension of correspondence training to further categories of central government staff, such as accounts clerks, were to be considered, it would require staff and finance well beyond the scope of the present Unit.

No fees have been charged to students as it was felt that no impediment should be put in their way, where the need for training was so urgent. A student's only contribution is his time and effort, and the stationery and postage required to submit his written work.

The Training Method

It is well-known that the correspondence method has considerable disadvantages. The case for correspondence courses in Uganda rested on the belief that in the particular circumstances which existed the advantages outweighed the disadvantages. The circumstances included the severe shortage of trained staff and the need for a crash programme, and the equally severe shortage of staff and facilities for training. Residential training, while superior in quality, could only have been provided for a small proportion of those for whom it was required. Apart from the increase in numbers, three main advantages are demonstrated by the Uganda experience. First it is inconvenient and disruptive when key staff, who most need training, have to be away from their work for extended periods: it is better if they can train and work at the same time: secondly, training by the correspondence method is more a continuous and evolving process, as training should preferably be, and not a once and for all experience. The students are encouraged to refer to the study material while at work in the office. Thirdly the undoubted enthusiasm of Africans for training and self-improvement is harnessed, and in particular it provides opportunities for those who have missed out on training because of an incomplete schooling. This enthusiasm can, and in many cases *is*, transforming the attitude of an office to its work, creating new interest on the part of junior employees, and creating closer links between senior and junior staff.

This interest at office level needs to be encouraged and an attempt has been made to overcome the obvious disadvantage which the correspondence method has in its lack of contact between teacher and student, by several different means. First the tutors undertake regular tours to up-country centres and hold meetings and short seminar sessions with students. Secondly leading students at these centres are enrolled as assistant lecturers to lead informal student groups in discussion periods. During the second half of 1968, thirty-six such volunteers were contributing to teaching at eighteen different centres. Finally occasional lectures on relevant topics are arranged for students in the Kampala area. Every effort is also made to develop personal contact with the students through the correction of their written work. The extent to which this is possible is probably greater in Uganda than it is in the more impersonal circumstances of other more developed countries.

The Syllabus

The syllabus of both courses is divided into three parts, each designed to cover one year for a successful student proceeding at normal speed. On com-

pletion of each part, examinations are held for a first, second and final certificate respectively. On successful completion of the final certificate the student is awarded, in the case of the finance course, the Uganda Finance Officers' Diploma. Students may, however, proceed at their own speed and many will take more than three years to reach final level, and many more will only aspire to complete the first or second certificate. In practice only the exceptional student will complete the course in three years.

The following subjects are included in the finance course:

Central and Local Government Law, Book-keeping, Accountancy and Costing, Local Government Finance and Administration, Rates, Rents, Tariffs, Taxes and the Bases of Valuation, Auditing, Economics, Commercial Law, Banking, Public Finance and International Agencies, Income Tax, Statistics.

The more advanced subjects enter in during the second and third stages. An important feature of the teaching material is that it has all been written specifically for Uganda, and is based on Uganda Law, practice and experience.

Examinations and Diplomas

Examinations are held every six months at a number of centres throughout the country. The tutors naturally play a substantial part in the setting and marking of examinations since they are professionally the people best qualified to do so, but their decisions are subject to the approval of an outside panel consisting of senior government and local government staff, Considerable care has been taken in building up an examination system which is independent and objective. There may be advantages in linking African professional qualifications to European Institutes in the initial stages, in that such links enhance the status of the qualifications in the eyes of employers, and may also provide useful technical assistance, but in the long run, local qualifications and institutions must be created. Uganda has chosen to start early on this; the status of the Uganda Diploma will ultimately be judged by the performance of those who hold it.

The three certificate course is designed to qualify the student to hold the highest posts in local treasuries, and it is expected that in due course the government will be able to make it a statutory requirement that appointments of treasurer be made only from those holding the diploma. Already local authorities are mentioning the certificates in their advertisements and giving preference in certain appointments to those holding one or more certificates. The completion of the first or second certificate is in itself a worthwhile achievement for junior and intermediate staff and will probably come to be required for the filling of posts at these levels. The creation of these different levels of qualifications and the acceptance of them by local authorities as a standard of measurement of ability for appointment and promotion purposes is undoubtedly helping to improve the career prospects of finance staff. This will help to retain qualified staff in local government, to provide a much-needed boost to morale and to lay the foundations of a professional service. It is intended that the leadership for such a professional service should be built up in a proposed Uganda Institute of Finance Officers. Similar arrangements for examinations, diploma and institute are proposed for the administration course.

By June 1968, two students had completed the Final Certificate in full, a further eleven the Second Certificate, and sixty-four the First Certificate. These results give little indication of the potential of the 250 students now enrolled, since, due to wastage, only a fairly small proportion (27%) are from among those originally enrolled in 1964, and thus even capable of having completed the minimum of three years before attempting the Final Certificate. The remainder are students who have joined subsequently. The pass figure to date are more significant when seen in relation to a conservative estimate of requirements for qualified staff in all local authorities in 1968, estimated at 125 First Certificate, 65 Second Certificate and 50 Final Certificate holders. It will be several years before these targets are approached, and in the meantime staffing requirements are like to rise.

Conclusions

It is mainly the magnitude of the task, and the difficulty of providing residential training staff and buildings on the scale required for full professional courses that justifies the use of correspondence training in Uganda. When residential training is established it will be more suited to training new entrants to the service, than those who have to be removed from their work for several months. Perhaps a twin approach of correspondence in-service training and residential pre-entry training would be the best long-term policy to adopt. The cost of correspondence training also argues in its favour. In Uganda the cost per student per annum has been about £50, including the cost of technical assistance staff. When localisation is completed the cost will be lower.

Correspondence training has not gained easy acceptance in Uganda. Many of those already partially trained have ignored it on the grounds that it requires an effort no longer appropriate to their position. There has been suspicion in government circles that it will lead to the award of large numbers of paper certificates not matched by the performance of the holders. It is also claimed that office and home conditions in Africa are unsuited to this form of study and that Africans do not have the incentive to persevere with it. This, however, is not consistent with the evidence of substantial numbers of Africans who are prepared to pay for private correspondence courses. Lastly the method is suspect because of the lack of personal contact between teacher and student, and in particular the disadvantage this has for the less outstanding students. This argument has weight but it must be set against the advantages of the method, and the measures that can be taken to build up contact by visits and meetings.

It is difficult to draw firm conclusions about correspondence training before it has been operating for several years. The first three years have been spent in establishing the course. During this time it has had to gain support against some degree of opposition. Much of the best student material may only now be in the first year of study, and those few who have obtained the Second and Final Certificates have barely had time to prove their worth. The experiment deserves the continued support of international aid until it is finally established.

Higher Civil Service in India

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THE present paper contains the findings and conclusions of a modest study of the socio-economic background of the 309 Probationers selected in 1966–67, after a written competitive examination and interview, by the Union Public Service Commission for the All-India and Central Services of the Government of India. This study was conducted while these 309 "Selected Candidates" were undergoing pre-service training at the National Academy of Administration, Mussoorie.[1]

The probationers were distributed cadre-wise as follows: India Foreign Service 8, Indian Administrative Service 126, Indian Police Service 69 and Central Services 106.[2] This allocation had been made by the U.P.S.C. which bore two particular factors in mind: (*a*) a candidate's total performance in the written and oral examinations and (*b*) the candidate's own preference for various cadres. Thus their socio-economic background as such had nothing to do with the prevailing cadre-wise distribution. The probationers formed one homogeneous group in that all of them fulfilled the minimum age and other qualifications laid down by the UPSC and qualified for being selected by the UPSC after a common written examination and an oral interview. However, the socio-economic data relating to them has been presented in terms of their respective cadres because the cadre-wise differences, howsoever marginal and coincidental they might be at the training stage, are bound to persist throughout the probationers' entire career-span, and the information now presented could be used as base-line data for comparing the background and performance of these 1966/67 probationers at a later stage in their careers.

This short study is presented under three main heads: (i) educational background, (ii) family background and (iii) pre-service work-experience, and an attempt has been made to analyse the data under each head from the wider point of view of social analysis, for these key 309 civil servants are bound to play a crucial role in the task of national development for the next two or three decades.

Educational Background

Out of the 309 probationers selected in 1966–67 as many as 234 possessed a Master's degree, all from Indian Universities. There was no foreign-

[1]This study is based on the data collected by the author while he was Professor of Public Administration during 1966–67 at the National Academy of Administration, Mussoorie. It must be clearly emphasized that although the *Probationers* have themselves voluntarily supplied all the data used in this paper they are in no way responsible for any of the conclusions drawn. We are, indeed, very grateful to all the *Probationers* who co-operated in this academic venture, but we would also like to reiterate that all the conclusions and/or recommendations made in the course of analysis are those of the author alone.

[2]The Central Services included the Probationers of Indian Audit and Accounts Service/the Income Tax Service etc.

educated probationer in the entire batch. Out of the 234 selected candidates holding a Master's degree, 58 held an M.Sc., 10 were M. Coms. and the remaining 166 held Arts degrees, the respective percentage (N=234) being 25%, 4% and 70%. Although the recruitment rules lay down a Bachelor's degree as the minimum qualification for entrants to the higher civil services, mere graduates do not stand a good chance of selection as is evident from the fact that in 1966–67 only seventy-five candidates were successful who lacked post-graduate education, and of these only twenty-three possess what might be regarded as a "bare" Bachelor's degree while the formal qualifications of the rest can be conveniently described as "Bachelor's degree plus", the actual breakdown being as follows:

Table I: Analysis of Educational Qualification of Bachelor's Degree-Holders

Degree	*No. of Selected Candidates*
B.A./B.Sc./B.Com.	23
B.A.(Hons.)/B.Sc.(Hons.)/B.Com.(Hons.)	17
B.A., L.L.B.	23
B.Sc. Eng.	12
Total	75

The foregoing table shows that as many as twelve out of these seventy-five selected candidates were, in fact, holding a Bachelor's degree in Engineering which involves a rigorous four or five year course in technical subjects and as many as five of them had gone to the Engineering course after acquiring a Bachelor's degree in Science. These Engineering Graduates, in other words, cannot be treated at par with the bare graduates except for formal purposes. Similarly, the twenty-three Probationers holding a Bachelor's degree in Law, in addition to an ordinary Bachelor's degree, can be treated as 'Bachelor's degree Plus', and must, indeed, be regarded, for all practical purposes, as equivalent to Master's degree-holders, for a Law degree usually involves a two- or three-year course *after* acquiring an ordinary Bachelor's degree. Finally, the seventeen probationers with an Honours degree also deserve to be reckoned as possessing a 'Bachelor's degree Plus' because the standard of instruction in Honours courses is much higher than that in Pass courses. *This analysis will lead to the unmistakable conclusion that the recruitment system for the higher civil services favours those candidates whose qualifications are higher than the "minima" formally prescribed.*

The predominance of Master's degree-holders in the batch of 1966–67 for the All-India and Central Services is accentuated by the fact that quite a large number of the selected candidates possess not only a Master's degree but additional educational qualifications such as a Law degree, also. Thus, out of a total of 234 Master's degree-holders as many as twenty-six possess an additional Bachelors degree in Law, five hold an additional Master's degree either in Arts (3) or Science (2), one holds a Master's Diploma in Public Administration, one a Diploma in Banking, while one is C.A.I.I.B. and another holds a Doctorate in English Literature. Thus, out of a total batch of

309 Probationers as many as thirty five (or roughly 11%) possess qualifications substantially higher than the formal Master's degree.

Universities Attended

The probationers came from various Universities in India and significantly none of them possessed a non-Indian degree or diploma. However, not all the seventy or so Universities of India figured in the annual "intake" and the 309 probationers were drawn from only thirty-one Universities, with Delhi University alone contributing as many as sixty-three (nearly 20%) of the selected candidates, the detailed University-wise break-down was as follows:

Table II: *Last University Attended by* 309 *Probationers*

Name of the University	*No. of Probationers*
Delhi University, Delhi	63
Allahabad University (U.P.)	44
Calcutta University (W.B.)	27
Punjab University (Punjab)...	25
Madras University (Madras)	23
Lucknow University (U.P.)	16
Agra University (U.P.)	16
Patna University (Bihar)	12
Trivendrum University (Kerala)	9
Bombay University (Maharashtra)	9
Gauhati University (Assam)	8
Utkal University (Orissa)	6
Others	51
Total	309

The foregoing table should be interpreted with caution for it does not reveal the large-scale immigration of students from all over India into such premier Universities as Delhi, Allahabad and Lucknow and, hence, it would be imprudent to conclude that all the Probationers who had taken their last degree from these Universities were, in fact, residents of United Provinces or Delhi. These three Universities in general and Delhi University in particular have already earned a name for annually contributing a large quota to the higher civil service and, hence, they attract talented students from all over India, especially at the post-graduate level. Similarly, Calcutta University and Madras University attract good students from eastern and southern parts of India respectively and, therefore, it is not surprising to find them occupying third and fifth position in the Table respectively. It may be noted that as many as one hundred and eleven probationers had attended a University in the Hindi-speaking belt. The total, in fact, goes up to one hundred and seventy-four if the sixty-three probationers who had obtained a degree from Delhi were included; but Delhi city being a highly westernized cosmopolitan metropolis, it would be reasonable to assume that most of these Delhi-educated probationers would possess only a limited knowledge of Hindi.

However, over one hundred probationers educated in the Hindi-speaking States, could be regarded as having acquired a good working knowledge of Hindi even though they might not have passed a formal language examination. Incidentally, the above data disproves the common charge of disproportionate dominance or representation of Indians from the South in the higher civil services.

Family Background

The probationers being young men and young women fresh from their Universities, their family background is of strategic importance in shaping and moulding their socio-economic status. In fact, a very important question in relation to a study of the socio-economic background of the probationers for the Higher Civil Service is regarding their fathers' occupation or profession. The following table shows the occupational characteristics of the probationers' fathers.

Table III: Occupational Characteristics of Probationers' Family

Father's Occupation	*I.F.S.*	*I.A.S.*	*I.P.S.*	*Central*	*Total*	*Percent.*
Administrative	2	63	27	42	134	43
Academic	1	8	4	9	22	7
Business	2	10	9	16	37	12
Legal Practice	2	7	3	9	21	8
Agriculture	1	20	14	18	53	17
Others	—	18	12	12	42	13
Total	8	126	69	106	309	100

The 309 probationers might be tentatively categorized from the point of view of their father's' occupation, into four major "streams" as follows: (1) Sons and daughters of top civil and military officers; (2) sons and daughters of middle order government servants; (3) sons of rural farmers and landlords and (4) sons and daughters of illiterate and indigent people belonging to various Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Castes. A simple statistical analysis of the father's occupation of the type presented in the foregoing table glosses over the wide range of socio-economic disparities between these four streams and cannot highlight the absence or negligible presence of various other socio-economic streams in the national society. But it is very clear that the new recruits to top civil service posts are a heterogeneous socio-economic group consisting largely of the children of persons holding the highest posts at the Union as well as the State levels in the field of administration, judiciary, army, police and other related services as well as children of persons holding such posts as school teachers, clerks, personal assistants and minor revenue officials. To the extent that their entry into the top civil service cadres results in an erosion of the socio-economic inequalities between the children of

people belonging to the extreme ends of the socio-economic scale, the competitive examination must be credited with playing a "socialistic" role. Whether this role is intended or not is a different matter.

In any country with an overwhelming majority of the population engaged in agriculture it is further significant that nearly 17% of the recruits into the higher civil services belong to farming families – the percentage of probationers whose fathers are/were agriculturists being as high as 20% in the case of the Indian Police Service.

In this connection it may be added that most of the fifty-three probationers with an agricultural background belong to middle income brackets in the rural society and only a small number can be really said to be the off-spring of rich landlords. Since detailed data regarding the nature and amount of the land owned by the fathers/families of these probationers are not available, this point can be substantiated only in an indirect manner by referring to the fact that out of the fifty-three only eleven (20%) were educated in English-medium schools while others received their formal education in ordinary schools. The detailed cadre-wise figures are as follows:

Table IV: Educational Qualifications of 53 Probationers with Agricultural Background

Cadre	*Total*	*Schooling*	
		Eng. Medium School	*Other Schools*
I.F.S.	1	—	1
I.A.S.	20	2	18
I.P.S.	14	4	10
C.S.	18	5	13
Total	53	11	42

Pre-Entry Experience

The basic theory underlying the competitive examination for the top civil service is "Catch 'em young" and the candidates ranging from twenty-one to twenty-four years of age are not expected to possess any pre-entry work-experience. However, one of the surprising facts to emerge from the present survey was that nearly 70%of the selected candidates had some previous work-experience, most of them having served as teachers or lecturers for varying periods before joining the Mussoorie Academy, the detailed figures being as follows:

Table V. Nature of Pre-entry Experience of Probationers in 1966–67

Type of Experience

			Type of Experience				
Cadre	*Exec. Position*	*Univ. Lect.*	*College Lect.*	*Teacher*	*Res. Sch.*	*Business*	*Others*
I.F.S.	—	—	4	—	1	—	1
I.A.S.	19	12	40	5	7	1	8
I.P.S.	1	2	22	2	3	—	8
C.S.	12	4	32	2	7	—	18
Total	32	18	98	9	18	1	35

The foregoing table shows that as many as 211 out of 309 (nearly 70%) were not strictly "fresh" University graduates, but had acquired work-experience ranging from a few months to five or six years either in academic or executive positions before joining the civil service cadre. The fact that over half of them, the actual figure being one hundred and sixteen, had served as lecturers in a college or university underlines the earlier finding that only "Bachelor's degree Plus" have a good chance of being selected through the competitive examination. But it also highlights a grave imbalance in the educational system of the country which seems to have become a launching pad for aspirants to administrative posts. This drain of many of the best young lecturers is likely to encourage still further the use of teaching jobs as an excellent medium for earning while learning for competitive examinations. This is, of course, a matter of great importance both for academicians and for administrators alike to take note so that policies may be initiated aimed at minimizing this form of "brain drain".

Conclusions

(*a*) The study leads to the conclusion that the candidates possessing higher qualifications than the minimum laid down by Government have a very marked advantage in the competitive examination for the higher civil services in India. "Plain" graduates find entry to the higher civil service difficult.

(*b*) Further, it is not the degree of any or every University that makes one competent to compete successully in the UPSC examinations. The standards of different Universities vary.

If one is fortunate to receive education in one of the better Universities such as Delhi, Calcutta or Madras, one's chances of competing successfully increase *vis-à-vis* candidates coming from other universities. This is a very serious matter from the viewpoint of social policy. Not everyone can afford to migrate to a "top" University for the purposes of higher education. On this account, many candidates may be victims of an unmerited disability. If

young men are exposed to the good environment of a "top" University, their talents develop. Some get the advantage of this education because their parents can afford it, while others suffer on account of their parents' inability to send them to the better universities sited in metropolitan towns. The net result is that competition for the higher civil service in India is a competition among unequals, because of the uneven facilities of higher education available to the different candidates. Nicos P. Mouzelis is correct when he says: "Thus, insistence on diplomas of higher education indirectly favours all those who have the material means to undertake the long studies that such certificates require. In that sense the development of bureaucracy destroys real equality of opportunity and favours a plutocratic regime".[3]

Moreover, if University education is not free and compulsory, it results in the introduction of an element of "aristocracy" into education. Those who can afford it, get it. The result is that the best places in the bureaucracy get filled with a segment of society which can afford higher education in better universities. "Thus, if University students were drawn disproportionately from the higher social classes, and if the administrative class of the civil service were recruited *solely* from University graduates, the social classes under-represented at the universities would tend to be under-represented in the highest ranks of the Civil Service".[4] Methods must be devised to correct this imbalance in social life.

Another conclusion which emerges from this study is that pre-entry experience is a very great help to a candidate. Many of the successful candidates were working as Lecturers in Colleges and Universities. This migration from the teaching profession to the higher civil service seriously depletes the ranks of talented teachers. Social Policy-makers must think about this aspect of the problem also. If talent is concentrated only in the higher Civil Service, and if there is no proper diversification of talent, society cannot make proper progress. Every important segment of social life should get its proper quota of a country's best young brains, and educational Institutions need the largest quota of all.

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[3]Nicos P. Mouzelis: *Organization and Bureaucracy: An Analysis of Modern Theories*: London, Routledge, Kegan Paul, 1967, p. 23.

[4]H. Victor Wiseman: (Ed.) *Political Science*, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1967, p. 62.

Local Government in Panama

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THE Republic of Panama has nine provinces, sixty-three municipalities (*distritos*), and one Indian Reservation (San Blas) which is called a *distrito* for census purposes only. The municipalities are divided into 439 *corregimientos*, or sub-districts. Within these *corregimientos* there are an uncounted number of *regidurias* which in urban congested areas may be divided into smaller units or blocks called *comisarias*. Furthermore, larger population units within *corregimientos* may be established as *barrios* or *barriados*, but these, except for a few in the Panama municipality (Panama City) which will be discussed below, have no legal status, and may be considered as neighbourhoods rather than units of local government. In the nation as a whole, the census of 1960 listed 8,595 population centres or settlements. The Canal Zone of the United States is not considered part of the Republic; it carries on its own governmental services and operates its own facilities.

The total population of the Republic of Panama in 1960 was 1,075,541 including 62,187 Indians. Of the non-Indian population, 446,213 or 42 per cent were urban, and 567,141 or 58 per cent were rural. The population of the nation in 1911 (pre-canal period) was 336,742; by 1950, it was 805,285. The 1960 figures show a 33.6 per cent increase in a single decade.

The National Government and Local Units

The government of the Republic of Panama is unitary, nationally dominated and highly centralized. The nine provinces are administrative agencies of the national government, their governors are appointed and removed by the Executive Organ (the President through the Ministry of Government and Justice). These officials have limited authority and powers. While theoretically they supervise the municipalities, this amounts to little more than irregular visits to municipal council meetings, the settlement of disputes between the municipalities, and the hearing of complaints of citizens against the municipalities. The governor of the Province of Panama, the largest in the nation, has a staff of eleven. Besides the responsibilities listed above, his office handles passports and collects national taxes on small businesses.

Far more influential in the field of local government than the provincial governors are the national ministries and "autonomous" agencies. For example, municipal mayors are appointed by the President of the Republic through the Ministry of Government and Justice and are considered first and foremost as representatives of the central government. The Controller General supervises the finances of the municipalities through both pre- and post-audit procedures.

Within the Ministry of Government and Justice is located the National Guard, the national police organization (Panama has no army organization other than this) which operates throughout the nation in both urban and rural areas, thus making unnecessary local police and constabularies. The National Guard has recently expanded its activities to include assistance to communities; medical services, construction of public buildings, road maintenance, aid in disasters, and other local needs. This programme is called Civic Action and is designed to create a good image for the National Guard throughout the nation, besides no doubt serving a useful watchdog service for the State. The Ministry of Government and Justice also concerns itself with fire protection and prevention, leading, sometimes directing, a host of volunteer local fire services established in the urban areas. Thus police and fire administration are minor, if not insignificant, elements of Panamanian local government.

The Ministry of Public Works has almost complete charge of highways, streets and roads in the municipalities. It builds and maintains them with national personnel and finances. It also regulates the services and rates of various utilities: gas, electricity, telephone, and it even carries on garbage collection in the two largest municipalities, Panama and Colon.

The Ministry of Education administers education throughout Panama: primary, secondary, vocational and cultural. It licenses the teachers, appoints and pays them. Localities sometimes build schools and community centres through the efforts of community organization and leadership, but this activity too is assisted by the national educational supervisors of the area.

In the *Organo Ejecutivo* (the Office of the President), there is an assistant to the President in charge of planning, budgeting, administration, and personnel within the government. While his efforts have not yet resulted in activities on behalf of the municipalities, it may be assumed that at least in the field of planning there will be some future assistance especially in the metropolitan area of the municipality of Panama.

In the Ministry of Labour, Social Welfare and Public Health, two agencies carry on national activities relating to community development. The office of Urban Community Development administers USAID grants and loans made available for assistance to urban *barriadas emergencia* (mostly squatter settlements) through a Demonstrative Community Development Programme which includes the training of development workers, the construction of projects such as schools, community centres, streets, water supply and other needed facilities; the development of community leadership; and free legal services to *barriadas* and their residents. This office has been advised and assisted by the Community Development Division of the American Mission to Panama of the Agency for International Development. Rural community development is carried on by the *Prevision Social* which supervises community development in the rural provinces.

The most important "autonomous" national agency involved in local functions is the Housing and Urbanization Institute which plans and implements housing projects for medium and low-income citizens, both urban and rural. The Institute for Water and Sewage provides its facilities and services

throughout the urban and metropolitan areas of the nation, while the Institute of Hydraulics and Electrification produces electricity for the municipalities.

The Municipalities

It is obvious, therefore, that local government in Panama is restricted and minimal. The basic and chief local government unit is the municipality (*municipio*) which is comparable to the Anglo-American county because it includes both urban and rural areas. The entire area of the nation is divided, according to the 1946 Constitution, into "autonomous municipalities grouped into provinces." The municipality is conceived as the political organization of the local community established within a given territory, determined by neighbourhood relations, with sufficient economic ability to sustain self-government under adequate conditions. Its basis is democratic but like provinces it has been designated as being "essentially administrative". The municipal authorities, declares the Constitution in Article 188, "have the duty of complying with and causing to be complied with the Constitution and laws of the Republic, the decrees and orders of the Executive, and the decisions of the tribunals of justice, ordinary and administrative." Municipalities must co-operate with the national government for the realization of the social welfare programme, and the national Executive establishes the conditions of such co-operation. The courts decide on any conflict between the national and local authorities. No municipal functionary may be suspended or discharged by national administrative authorities. Mayors of municipalities, however, are excepted when they are appointed by the Executive Organ of the Republic.

The corporate territory of the municipality is called the district, and the number of municipalities in each province is established by law. Changes in boundaries may be made by the Demographic Council appointed by the Ministry of Government and Justice. The Executive may through topographical surveys and the issue of corresponding land titles denote the area of urban land within each district. Urban population is defined as every community where there are more than twenty-five houses close to each other and inhabited by families.

Each municipality sets forth its own internal organization, and may establish and dissolve its *regidurias*, *barrios* and *comisarias* as it pleases.

The government of municipalities is outlined in Law No. 8 of 1954. The basic institution is the municipal council, composed of from five to fifteen members depending on the population. They are elected at large for four-year terms. Elected with them are first and second substitutes for each member to replace them whenever absent. Further vacancies are filled by the provincial governor. The council elects its own president, vice-president and secretary. The law sets up conventional council committees. Administrative officers whose duties are pertinent to the work of the committee sit with them. Provincial governors, municipal mayors, solicitors, engineers, national health and educational supervisors have a right to attend council meetings, speak on matters in which they are concerned, but without the right to vote.

In Panama municipalities, a unique system exists whereby the people may decide by plebiscite that their administration be carried out by specialized boards or commissions (*juntas*) for health, education, public property, city

planning, economics, politics, agricultural, fire prevention and other local functions. The plebiscites may be called by the municipal councils and a favourable decision for such a move must be supported by at least sixty per cent of the voters. The members of each junta must be elected in the same manner as council members and for the same four-year term. However, this writer has never heard that a plebiscite of this kind has ever been held. In actual practice, the junta members are chosen by the council with some assistance from national executive officials. Membership comes from representatives of national ministries, voluntary groups, professional and business persons, with one or two from the municipal councils themselves. Law No. 8 of 1954 requires that 15 per cent of the municipal tax revenues be spent on general education, 5 per cent on physical education, and 5 per cent on health activities. This money must be turned over to the corresponding junta which administers the funds, hires personnel where necessary and directs its activities. Therefore, in all municipalities at least three juntas exist, and in some of the larger municipalities there are more. Thus, the municipal council itself has little control over the expenditures and the administration in these local Government fields. The fragmentation of municipal authority is one of the reasons for the low estate of local government in the Panamanian system, and well qualified persons are not prone to run for the office of councillor.

The municipal council has a broad range of powers: public works of all kinds, public utility services, corporate powers, right to establish co-operatives, health and welfare services, planning and urban development, education and libraries, fire prevention; in fact, municipal powers include very nearly the entire gamut of local governmental activity. This permissive legislation, however, is a snare and a delusion. Not even the municipality of Panama exercises even a small percentage of such powers. There are two reasons for this: (1) the national government has absorbed most of what are generally considered local functions, or when national agencies co-operate with municipalities they dominate; and (2) municipalities have severely restricted revenues.

The Constitution declares that the National Assembly shall provide whether municipal mayors should be elected or appointed, and Law No. 8 of 1954 made them appointive. The mayor is the administrative agent of the national government as well as the chief executive of the municipality. He publishes national decrees, enforces national laws and regulations, and is responsible for public order. He supervises the work of municipal employees, proposes a budget and projects to the councils for their approval. Like the municipal council, he is clothed with broad legal powers, but in actual practice he is restrained by activities of the various national agencies, by the independent municipal juntas, and by the authority of the municipal treasurer and municipal auditor. The Panamanian mayor must indeed be classed as a "weak mayor" even when his appointment comes from the President.

The municipal finance officers are the municipal treasurer, elected by the municipal council, and the municipal auditor appointed by the Controller General of the national government. Both are paid from municipal funds, and both have control of their own personnel. The municipal treasurer collects municipal revenues and receives two per cent for his remuneration, except for

sales of municipal property, up to $20,000 after which he goes on a salary fixed by the Council. He also pays all municipal bills and assists the mayor with the annual budget. When the total revenue of the municipality is $20,000 or more, each municipality must have its own auditor, but municipalities with annual revenues below that amount are audited by a provincial treasurer who serves all of the smaller municipalities in the province. Also in those municipalities with $20,000 or more revenue a year, there must be a municipal solicitor and a municipal engineer.

In the municipality of Panama, the largest of the nation with an estimated population of 358,200 in 1967, the budget of that year made provision for a total of 447 personnel: 31 for the municipal council itself, 220 under the direction of the Mayor, 31 in the auditor's office, 37 in the municipal courts, and 128 in the office of the municipal treasurer. In the Mayor's list are included 48 located in the twelve *corregimientos*. Other substantial groups under the mayor include the inspectors (30), municipal services (39), public works (23), and planning (15). Total expenditures of the municipality provided for in the budget was $2,969,240. Salaries run from $100 to $400 a month in the 28 categories of municipal service.

Municipal tax revenues are derived from fees, from motor boat and motor vehicle registration, construction permits, slaughter house and market and other such licences, eighty of which are allowed by law. The Council decides which should be levied. Other revenue sources consist of earnings from municipal property, subsidies from the national government, and income from municipal services. Municipalities have no major broad-based sources of taxation such as those on property, sales or inheritance.

In 1966, total municipal revenue in Panama was $4,671,265 or $3.65 per capita. This was eight per cent of the national revenues. Seventy per cent came from direct and indirect taxes, twelve per cent from revenues of municipal property and equipment, nine per cent from national subsidies, two per cent from municipal services, and seven per cent from miscellaneous sources.

Only eight municipalities in 1966 received revenues over $100,000, and these constituted eighty per cent of the total. Of these, Panama and Colon represented about sixty per cent. Of the remaining sixty-three municipalities, forty-two collected less than $20,000. National subsidies accounted for more than fifty per cent of the total revenues in eighteen of the municipalities.[1]

San Miguelito is a large *corregimiento* in the municipality of Panama with about 40,000 population. It is sparsely settled and located on the outskirts of the municipality, having a very low population density in comparison with the congested downtown area. Here the *corregidor* has an office staff of four: a secretary, an assistant corregidor, a janitor and a member of the National Guard assigned to him by the *commandante*. His field staff consists of twelve *regidores* and an unknown number of *comasarios*. The salary of the *corregidor* is $200 a month, the others lower. The 1967 budget for the *corregimiento* was $6,074, most of it going for salaries. *Regidores* and *comisarios* work without

[1] *Hacienda Publica y Finanzas, Primer Semestre de* 1967, Estadistica Panamena, Ano XXVII, Serie "E," No. 2, pp. 22–26. For the 1966 population estimates, *Poblacion Estimada de la Republica de Panama, por Provincia y Distrito, Anos* 1961–1967.

pay. The latter are block workers and operate mostly during the evening and night hours. The National Guard is responsible for law and order in the streets during the daytime.

The *corregidor* has many functions. He administers criminal justice and crime prevention, and can impose prison sentences of up to two years. He can declare that a person needs rehabilitation and is watchful over public morals. He regulates traffic and can request the services of the National Guard when necessary. He records the kinds and prices of provisions that are taken through his *corregimiento* to market. Truck drivers must fill out forms detailing this information which is then sent to the Controller General for statistical and price control purposes. He can make eviction orders for those who do not pay rent, and he is liable to jail and loss of his position for not carrying out such orders. He can compel residents to clean up their premises, and can ask for additional street lights through the Municipal Vigilance Commission. He must protect women and children, the former responsibility taking up much of his time because of many wife-beating cases. There are few cases of child abuse. In rural areas, the *corregidor* is the leader of the people and aids in developing self-help projects in co-operation with other rural leaders such as school-teachers, priests, representatives of national ministries and municipal officers. Such voluntary co-operation on an *ad hoc* basis is not uncommon throughout the nation.

A third unique feature of Panamanian local government found mostly in urban, metropolitan areas is the *barriada emergencia*. This can be described as a community made up mostly of poor people many of them squatters who moved in from the interior or out from the congested areas of the city, and without leave of owners erected flimsy, jerry-built shacks or huts, many of which can be catalogued at the lowest rung of slum housing. People who live here do not pay rent or taxes. They enjoy few of the urban services of government and almost none of the amenities. The *barriada* is not a unit of government yet it can acquire status as a legal entity if it has an organized group which seeks government assistance for housing, water supply, electricity, street improvement or other projects. One of the obstacles in the path of local government is that the land on which these people's houses are built is owned by the national or municipal government or by private owners, and the people apparently cannot be removed or made to pay taxes or rent. Many of the residents are against any action seeking to improve their lot, believing this will result ultimately in paying taxes or rent. In the metropolitan area of Panama City a total of 72 *barriadas* have been identified, almost all of them needing urban services and facilities to a far greater degree than they have at present.

Needed Changes

In summary, local government in Panama is restricted, ineffective, fiscally starved, and nationally dominated. Throughout the nation, however, there is substantial opinion that changes should be made. For example, President-elect Arias before his inauguration on October 1st, 1968, made a special public announcement of his plan for municipal reform.[2] He projected the election of

[2] *Estrella de Panama*, May 17, 1968.

mayors by 1972, and stressed the need for strengthening the government of the municipality of Panama, the capital city. He envisaged the creation of a special district for this municipality, granting the council more authority, increasing its local finances, beautifying its environs, creating a local junta for municipal traffic, improving the housing in the *barriadas emergencia*, establishing a department of social service, and generally modernizing the administration. *Corregimiento* boundary lines within the municipality should be made he said, to coincide with major service areas. For the nation as a whole, he called for better co-ordination between the ministries and autonomous agencies of the national government, municipalizing community development activities, and increased assistance to local efforts.

The present writer at the conclusion of a survey of community development and local government in Panama as a consultant with Panama AID, Division of Community Development, in 1968, made a report in which he suggested the following improvements for local government:

(1) The structure of the municipality should be strengthened by the election of mayors, the election of council members by wards so as to obtain better geographical and therefore better economic representation, and the transfer of functions from the municipal juntas to the municipal councils.

(2) Certain "natural" local functions such as streets and roads, sewage and garbage disposal, water supply, primary education and school buildings, and fire protection should be given exclusively to the municipalities.

(3) The municipalities should be classified in three groups according to population, so that legislation might be formulated more precisely to fit the needs of different urban and rural patterns of society.

(4) Community development should be made a municipal function along with the administration of public lands for the purpose of solving the problem of "squatter" *barriadas*.

(5) Municipalities should share at least equally with the national government the income from the nationally assessed and collected property tax.

(6) The Efforts of the League of Panama Municipalities should be encouraged in the field of training and in representing the municipalities at the national level.

(7) *Barriadas* should be given the opportunity to become regular units of local government in the metropolitan municipality of Panama so that these underdeveloped enclaves may be able to pull themselves up by their own bootstraps, if not with the help of the national government.

(8) Self-help activities in rural areas need national assistance and guidance, especially in the development of a better balance between agriculture and industry, so that the trek to metropolitan Panama and Colon may be controlled.

(9) A new ministry in the national cabinet should be established: the Ministry of Local Development. It should be given all the national functions relating to local government that are now lodged in the Ministry of Government and Justice, the Ministry of Labour, Social Welfare and Public Health, and in the semi-autonomous National Institute of Housing and Urbanization.

Quarterly Notes

SOUTH AND SOUTH-EAST ASIA – *Colombo Plan*

TECHNICAL CO-OPERATION

"Technical Co-operation represents the Colombo Plan's contribution to the investment in human resources in the region. The mutual exchange of skills under Technical Co-operation has grown steadily over the years, creating an expanding corps of skilled personnel to meet the sophisticated demands of modern industry, agriculture and administration.

"The Colombo Plan Council's Annual Report for 1967–68 gives a detailed record of Technical Assistance activities during the year. The total expenditure on Technical Assistance during the year 1967 was U.S. $172.7 million, bringing the cumulative total since the inception of the Plan to U.S. $990 million, spent in the proportion of 19 per cent on 52,329 trainees, 46 per cent on 10,793 experts and 35 per cent on technical equipment."

"Development is not a static state; it is an evolving process, This places a premium on flexible aid programmes realistically geared to the future by continuing consultations between the donor and recipient countries. The empirical approach implicit in the bilateral operations of the Colombo Plan has justified itself in the speed and flexibility with which these technical co-operation activities have been executed. At the same time there is a constant need for review of traditional procedures against a background of changing requirements. This is of particular importance in the field of technical assistance as it is a form of aid in which it is easy to waste resources but where the long-term returns from well-conceived programmes are more than proportionate to outlay."

The special Colombo Plan topic selected for 1969 is "To analyse and review existing governmental measures and special techniques adopted for export promotion by each member country and to make suggestions of possible improvements with the object of maximizing exports from the developing countries in the Colombo plan region."

(*The Colombo Plan Report for* 1968)

BRITAIN – *Centre for Planning and Housing*

The University of Edinburgh has established a Centre for Planning and Housing in Developing Countries. It is attached to the Department of Urban Design and Regional Planning which has already well-established courses in Civil Design and Regional Planning, as well as a Planning Research Unit.

The Centre will have a dual function:

(*a*) teaching staff will be seconded to existing planning schools overseas. The resident staff of such schools can then be strengthened and the curriculum can be expanded.

(*b*) a course in planning and housing is conducted at Edinburgh for students from countries where appropriate training facilities are not yet available.

Teaching staff will be seconded to planning schools overseas for periods of one or more years when they will return to teach at Edinburgh and when replacements will be sent overseas. It may also be possible to transfer teaching staff of overseas schools to Edinburgh for limited periods. The staff involved will thus be able to keep at all times abreast with conditions and developments at home and overseas.

The Edinburgh Course in Planning and Housing

The curriculum of the course has been based on the following considerations:

(*a*) Experience in developing countries brings awareness of the great scarcity of qualified staff in any one field. Frequently there are a few well qualified professors, but there is not sufficient staff at the intermediate and the junior level to support them.

(*b*) Because of staff scarcity, foreign specialists are frequently called upon to advise and assist in fields beyond the boundaries of their normal professional activities; in their own countries such matters would have to be left to other specialists. It would appear, therefore, that the customary confines of western professional training are not always the most appropriate way of meeting the present needs of developing countries.

The Edinburgh course recognises the basic limitations in the conventional western type of professional education in relation to the needs of developing countries. The course will, therefore, deliberately aim at the training of a new type of professional: "a multi-specialist" in the field of physical planning and housing. A person so trained will be able to make a positive contribution at the central, local and rural level, in:

regional planning;
town and village planning;
low-cost housing (layout, design, construction, management);
small-scale water supply and sewerage systems;
local road construction.

BRITAIN –

Conference on "Confessions in Criminal Cases in the Commonwealth"

A very successul conference on "Confessions in Criminal Cases in the Commonwealth" was held under the auspices of the British Institute of International and Comparative Law at Cumberland Lodge, Windsor Great Park, Berkshire, which was made available by the Trustees of the King George VI and Queen Elizabeth Foundation of St. Catharine's, during the weekend of 18th to 21st April, 1969.

The conference was opened on Friday, 18th April, by the Rt. Hon. Lord Diplock who gave a short introductory address. His speech was followed by a lecture by Professor Rupert Cross, Vinerian Professor of the Laws of England in the University of Oxford on "The Laws of Confessions in

England." There followed supplementary comments by Mr. D. L. Mathieson, Associate Professor of Law, Victoria University of Wellington, New Zealand, on "Some Australian and New Zealand Variations" and by Mr. D. Prentice of the University of Western Ontario and Lecturer in Law at University College, London, on "The Position of Confessions in Canada". The Chairman at this session was Lord Diplock.

Proceedings on the second day began with lectures by Mr. S. D. Sogbetun, a Principal State Counsel of the Federation of Nigeria on "Confessions in Nigeria other than the North" and by Mr. E. E. Mensah, State Attorney of Ghana, on "Confessions in Ghana". The Chairman at this session was the Hon. Mr. Justice E. Akufo-Addo, Chief Justice of Ghana. After an interval for tea the Hon. Mr. Justice Fuad, a Judge of the High Court of Uganda and Director of the Uganda Law Development Centre, gave a talk on "The Law of Confessions in East Africa". The Chairman at this lecture was Professor Cross.

In the afternoon the Hon. Lord Kilbrandon, a Judge of the Court of Session and Chairman of the Scottish Law Commission, delivered a lecture on "The Law of Confessions in Scotland: A Bridge between the English and Indian Systems". The Chairman on this occasion was the Hon. Mr. Justice Cross of the Chancery Division of the High Court of Justice in England and Chairman of the Comparative Law Section of the British Institute. After dinner a talk on "Confessions under the Indian/Pakistani Evidence Act" was delivered by Mr. T. K. K. Iyer, a Fellow in Hindu Law at the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, followed by a supplementary comment on "Northern Nigeria's Variation on the Indian Theme" by Mr. H. H. Marshall, Deputy Director of the British Institute. The Chairman at this session was the Hon. Lord Kilbrandon.

The morning of the third day, which was a Sunday, was left free. After lunch the Hon. Judge Tage Taul, a Judge of the High Court of Copenhagen, Denmark, gave a short account of the method of receiving confessions in criminal cases in Danish law. This was followed by two discussion sessions, the first, presided over by Professor Cross, being a general discussion on all papers read at the conference, and the second, presided over by Lord Diplock, being devoted to a consideration of proposals for reform and an ideal law.

Among those present, in addition to those specifically mentioned above, were the Hon. Wolf Dourado, Attorney-General of Zanzibar; Mr. E. S. Aidoo, Judicial Secretary of the Judicial Service of Ghana; Mr. Muir Hunter, Q.C., and Mrs. Muir Hunter; Mr. P. J. Wadsley, Research Officer of the British Institute. There were present altogether 23 senior guests and 29 students of whom six were from Ghana, five from Nigeria, four from India, three from Uganda, two each from Ceylon, Pakistan and Rhodesia, and one each from Hong Kong, Kenya, Malaysia, Sierra Leone and Tanzania.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT – *Financial Planning*

Not only the present economic situation but also considerations of a more general nature make it seem advisable to devote special attention to local finances. One of the critical points in local finances is without doubt the question what funds will be available in future and which projects can be

realized with them. Financial planning over a number of years is a means of answering this question to a certain extent.

The local authority has the task of dealing within its sphere of action with all matters that are exclusively or mainly in the interest of the local community and are suitable for being attended to by the local authority within its boundaries. In addition, certain official tasks have been delegated to the local authorities. Municipalities with their own charter have also to discharge the functions of district administrative authority. The tasks of the local authorities also include some that they are obliged to perform by law and some that they elect to perform (obligatory functions and voluntarily assumed functions). The tasks of the local authorities are therefore numerous and multifarious.

Funds are needed to carry them out. That is why the local authority as a self-administering body is entitled, within the limits imposed by the general federal and provincial legislation, to acquire, possess and dispose of property of all kinds, to operate economic enterprises and, within the framework of the financial system, to run its own financial affairs and impose levies.

Among both the obligatory and the voluntary tasks are activities that require recurring expenditure. Measures must be taken to ensure long-term cover of this expenditure. But the financing of non-recurring expenditure, for example the costs of major building projects can – apart from the consequential costs, extend over fairly long periods.

It is therefore necessary to plan, i.e., consider for a foreseeable future period to what extent funds will be available for the expenditure of the local authority and decide which projects can be realized within this period.

(Source: *I.U.L.A. Newsletter*, March 69).

AUSTRALIA – *Alternative Sources of Local Government Revenue*

Australian local government (as in many countries) is preoccupied with seeking some alternative source of revenue, both as a means of relieving the ratepayer, and of spreading the costs of local government more equitably over the community as a whole. Most of the proposals which are being discussed, are similar to those which have been canvassed in New Zealand. A community tax, that is an annual lump sum payment made by all residents, both ratepayers and non-ratepayers, is being examined. A residential tax, similar to the community tax but confined to non-ratepayers, is also being examined. Although a tax of this nature was recommended by the Royal Commission in New South Wales, this recommendation has been rejected by the Local Government Association of that State. In fact, all the major recommendations of this commission have been rejected by the Association. Both residential and community taxes are types of poll tax, and present obvious difficulties in collection. Sales tax, turnover tax, a tourist or accommodation tax and direct grants from the Federal Government, through the Tax Reimbursement Grants to States, are all being studied. The problems in Australia are, however, complicated by the Federal structure and the need to provide a basis of finance for the State governments.

Topic discussed at Australian Local Government Conference, November 1968.

Extract from *New Zealand Local Government*, February, 1969.

NEW ZEALAND – *Local Government Licensing Fees*

"Courts in New Zealand have the power to hold that action of a local authority is invalid and not enforceable if it is shown to be highly unreasonable. A decision of the Supreme Court in Auckland late last year with regard to a bye-law imposing a licence fee demonstrates again that this power is one which will be used by the Courts where they are convinced that the action of a local authority is clearly unreasonable.

The bye-law in question was one which was passed by one of the twenty local authorities in the Auckland metropolitan area and it provided that mobile shops must obtain a licence each year from the authority before carrying on business in the district, and that the fee for such licences on each occasion was to be $50 in respect of each vehicle. This bye-law was challenged as unreasonable basically on the ground that the fee was higher than was necessary to finance the reasonable administration and policing of the bye-law.

Local authorities in New Zealand are not given the power to raise revenue by taxation and when the legislature authorizes a local authority to impose a licence fee that fee must be sufficient only to recover the expenses of administering the bye-law and cannot be such as to go further and make a profit for the local authority. Consequently a reasonable licence fee is one which is adequate to, but not more than necessary to, cover the proper expenses of administration of the bye-law."

"The Court held that the bye-law was unreasonable so far as the licence fee was concerned, and it indicated that the authority would be well to consider, in the light of the above comments, the imposition of another. The Court did not state what that fee should be."

"Since this decision of the Supreme Court the section under which the bye-law was made, section 386 (1) (28a) of the Municipal Corporations Act 1954 has been amended by section 39 of the Municipal Corporations Amendment Act 1968 to read now that a council may impose licence fees 'of such amount as the Council, in its discretion, thinks fit' not exceeding $50. But it would be unwise to imagine that this amendment will nullify the effect of this decision and prevent the Courts holding licence fees to be invalid on the ground that they are unreasonably high."

Extract from *New Zealand Local Government*, April 1969.

NEW ZEALAND – *Local Government*

Local Authority employees' entitlement to stand for election to local bodies (resulting from 1944 legislation) is now being challenged by Municipal Association members.

Members continue to oppose any extension of the Ombudsmen's powers to cover acts by local government officials and also oppose the appointment of local level 'little' Ombudsmen.

The Mount Eden Borough Council is preparing a by-law making it an offence to keep more than three acts over three months old without a licence. The validity of such a by-law has already been upheld by the Supreme Court.

NIGERIA – *Local Government*

"Native Authorities", the long-established local government bodies in the former Northern Region of Nigeria, have been abolished in North Central State (as in Benue-Plateau). In North-Central, nine administrative areas are being set up together with the Kaduna Capital Territory; the distinction between "Chief-in-Council" and "Chief and Council" has been abolished, as chiefs will now, while retaining their traditional authority, be acting in accordance with the decisions of Local Authority Councils which now replace the NAs and become the major organs of local government. The State Governor, Col. Abba Kyari, has announced that the Kaduna territory administration would continue until a decision could be made on the report of a committee that was being appointed to recommend on services to be taken over by the State Government. When NAs were abolished on April 1, the Governor was to nominate all members of the new Councils.

TANZANIA – *Assessors*

A bill was published in March to amend the Tanzania Courts Act of 1963 so that in every proceeding before a Primary Court, the Court will sit with at least two assessors. In the event of a difference of opinion in any matter a decision is to be reached by a majority vote of the Magistrate and assessors present. The Magistrate where there is an equality of votes will have a second casting vote.

The absence of an assessor by reason of illness or other good cause will not invalidate the proceedings but in no case may a Magistrate proceed and determine any case in the absence of all the assessors.

In the same bill provision is made for a Primary Court with the consent of all parties to any civil proceedings, to refer the matter in dispute to an Arbitration Tribunal for determination.

The Minister responsible for Justice is empowered to establish Arbitration Tribunals and to make rules governing all aspects of their constitution, composition and functions.

BELGIUM – *Woman town clerk*

The city administration of Antwerp is headed by a woman town clerk. As from 1st January, 1969 Madame André Stube, who is a Doctor of Law and a Graduate in Philosophy, has been appointed Municipal Secretary, thus making headlines in Belgium where she is the first woman to head a city administration.

Source: *I.U.L.A. Newsletter*, April 1969

Lord Hailey, O.M.

An Appreciation

IN Lord Hailey the last of the great proconsuls has died. In a sense he succeeded Lugard, who also added to a career of action one of reflection, writing and advising; and he actually succeeded him on the Permanent Mandates Commission of the League of Nations and as Chairman of the International African Institute. But only Lord Hailey was able to cover two separate fields, India as an administrator and Africa as a historian, analyst and adviser; and when one thinks of his many journeys through all the sub-Saharan African territories gathering information at first hand, one can hardly say that his African phase was not active.

If he had written nothing else, the two African Surveys would have been a stupendous achievement for one man; but we have in addition the five volumes of detailed study, *Native Administration in the British African Territories*, of which that on the High Commission Territories is a contribution to African history in its own right. Moreover, he supplemented this by another book, written at the age of 90, tracing the history of the relations between these territories and South Africa.

He was a man who never let up and never left anything half finished, whether it was the vast architecture of the Surveys or some small question such as the original legal basis of an institution. Matters difficult to trace could have been omitted from the Surveys, and their absence would have passed unnoticed, but this would not have satisfied Lord Hailey; he had a true scholar's passion for the complete record.

During the writing of the first Survey he worked almost continuously and eventually became seriously ill; and during the second he had to have a cataract operation, and at one time could revise draft chapters only by having them read to him. Yet every word in both these immense volumes is his own. Of course the best way to present the information on special topics was in the form of a continuous essay, but the chapters that specialists wrote for him were simply raw material. Only people who have not read these books can suppose they are mere compilations.

Each of the Surveys is far wider in scope than its sponsors intended; for each time, as he sat down to write, he felt that *all* the knowledge relevant to the problems that seemed to him significant must be gathered and set down. Nobody expected the second edition to be a wholly new book; but the world had changed out of recognition in those fifteen years, and as he saw it, all the problems must be looked at afresh.

The requirement that the Survey should be factual and objective is only what would be expected of such a work, and it would not have been hard to meet if the book had been no more than a dry collection of data. Where Lord Hailey's objectivity was so remarkable was that he was able to preserve it

while at the same time laying his finger on those aspects of policy that were most likely to create problems; at the same time he gave full value to the merits of all the different systems. "We must be very judgmatic", he used to say. His long experience as an administrator enabled him to take a more dispassionate view than that of short-term observers who, unless they are quite uncritical, are apt to burst into indignation at whatever seems to them to be wrong. He did once tell me that the sight of the "pick-up" van in a South African city rounding up Africans without passes was "his only moment of emotion" on his first African journey.

Nobody combined so much dignity with so little pomp. When he came in his ceremonial robes to join his friends after his introduction into the House of Lords, his first words were: "I wonder if it'll take?" When he saw me with a copy of Camus' *La Peste* he told me with justifiable pride in achievement that he had himself had plague and recovered. But he didn't tell me how he got it. This was during the settlement of peasants on the newly irrigated land, lately desert, of the Jhelum Canal. There was an outbreak of plague in Sargodha, where he held his first post as officer in charge. With a team of ten Indian assistants he worked incessantly treating the sick and burying the dead, until all were themselves infected. Only Lord Hailey survived. It was in commemoration of this part of his life that he chose the Indian part of his peerage title, Shahpur.

The small number of people who worked on the first Survey, recruited by Hilda Matheson as his talent scout, became and remained his friends, and it was as friends that we worked. He never found fault, though of course he sometimes asked for more information than you had given him; if it was not in the most convenient form for him to use, you could discover this only by your own reflection. It was not by being reminded of your own insignificance but simply by knowing him, that you learned he was a great man.

L.P.M.

Book Reviews

LAND REFORM IN PRINCIPLE AND PRACTICE, by DOREEN WARRINER; *Clarendon Press, Oxford,* 1969; with illustrations, bibliography and index; pp. 457; 63s.

This is an outstanding book written by one of the best scholars on Near East problems. One of its greatest virtues is the professional probity with which the author has defined the distinction between land reform in principle and practice. Though the scope of the subject is very wide, the dimension of the book is rather limited due to the limitation of the meaning of the term land reform to the redistribution of property and rights in land for the benefit of the small farmers and agricultural labourers.

This restriction made by the author has its advantages and disadvantages: on the one hand, it makes the object of the book more manageable and prevents the confusion of concepts which so often clouds the books of other authors on agrarian problems. But on the other hand, land redistribution in isolation is no more than a challenge and not development policy proper. This has been frequently proved in economic history, for instance by the distribution of the Church estates in the Philippines soon after the American occupation of the islands at the beginning of the century, and even by the Mexican agrarian revolution.

It is the control of the market forces which is the outstanding aspect of agrarian policy and which more or less determines the success of land redistribution; to what extent this control has or has not been affected by the introduction of complementary measures must be judged from case to case. I personally feel that the self-imposed restriction of the author has to some extent weakened the book which can, for instance, be seen in the very well written section on Mexico. The case of Cuba proves that it is not necessary to socialize the small farmers provided you control the market forces.

After developing the principles of land reform, Doreen Warriner turns to the practice of land reform and deals with the revolutions in Iraq, the Persian land reform efforts, India and to the manifold problems of the Latin-American region. I do not believe that Miss Warriner is giving full justice to the peculiarities of the Latin-American scene, which is very different from the conditions in other regions.

The author is at her best when she deals with problems of the Near East and I feel that the chapter on Persia is particularly good; it is realistically written and analytically right. I am doubtful, however, whether the second stage of the Persian land reform has brought substantial improvement and security for the peasants. We have probably to wait for Professor Lambton's forthcoming book in order to know more about the actual function of the co-operatives and the position and influence of the remaining landlords and their agents in the villages.

The conclusions of Miss Warriner as a whole are quite pessimistic. I have the feeling that Miss Warriner's frustration, which is reflected in the concluding part, mirrors her own natural disappointment with the effects of land reforms which have been restricted too narrowly to the problems of land redistribution. If the scope of her concept of land reform had been broader she could have stated that the failure and shortcomings of the reforms were the natural consequences of its limitation to land redistribution. Now she has to say that "no conclusion emerges which would suggest that agrarian reform is a condition of development".

Finally, I would like to have seen the author dealing in a broader way with the policy aspects of implementation of agrarian policy programmes and with the problems of administration in general in the "soft" state. If land reform legislation has not been implemented – as is partly the case in Iraq and even in India – it is not the concept of land reform which has failed. The failure is actually more fundamental and reflects the political crisis of a state and a society which cannot be salvaged by land reform programmes. There is real reason for worry but this worry should concern the fundamental functional problems of the underdeveloped countries. But these comments do not reduce the considerable importance of Doreen Warriner's book for students of the complex problems of agrarian reform.

ERICH H. JACOBY

ADMINISTRATION IN NEW ZEALAND'S MULTI-RACIAL SOCIETY, Ed. R. H. BROOKES and I. H. KAWHARU; *New Zealand Institute of Public Administration, Oxford University Press,* 1967; pp. 138; 24s.

This book consists of six edited Papers given to the 1966 Congress of the New Zealand Institute of Public Administration, with an Introduction by Mr. Kawharu. Its dominant note is one of goodwill and good sense – a responsible and experienced approach to the future relationship of Europeans and other "racial" groups in New Zealand. The basic facts – size of minority groups, length of residence, distribution and so on, are all clearly set out in the opening Paper by R. J. Mardle. The discussion is naturally focussed on the largest group, the Maoris (about 7½% of total population), with brief references to very small groups of Polynesians, Indians, Chinese, etc.

The central issue which emerges from these Papers is the distinction between "assimilation" (implying loss of Maori cultural identity) and "integration" (implying fully equal rights in all fields but without this loss). The shades of meaning in these words, and in "pluralism" and "fusion", are ably set out by Dr. Joan Metge. While the New Zealand Government policy is clearly aimed at integration, there is some complaint that the European man-in-the-street does not see much difference and in fact thinks most of assimilation.

In terms of the facts, the real situation is a familiar one. Maori tribal and communal culture remains alive, though much weakened, in the rural areas, but is largely disintegrated by the conditions of urban life. Inevitably, the Maori in towns is lonely and insecure in the individualist atmosphere of suburban life and commercial employment: predictably this strain results in a

rise of drunkenness and (largely petty) crime. Almost inevitably, the average Maori lags behind Europeans in education and skills. These facts together create a "problem", met by a Welfare service which must keep on a razor edge between too much and too little special treatment for the problem group. Urbanization is briefly treated by J. M. McEwen, education by R. L. Bradly, and Welfare by L. G. Anderson.

The series concludes with an extremely courageous Paper by J. E. Ritchie, Professor of Psychology at Waikato University. Speaking of the world-wide transition from a peasant to an industrial community, he says:

> "No one really seems to want to keep the peasant values intact, least of all the peasants themselves. No one wants to deny himself the advantages of modern industrial civilisation, etc. To make the transition to the industrial social modality, some things must go. The extended family is one. An economy of kinship reciprocity is another. Bloodline leadership is a third, etc."

Professor Ritchie goes on to suggest that the administration of social services must be more unified, less departmental; and that these services can only work properly if there is a Community to work through, and a Community which takes much responsibility for its own welfare and its own cultural life.

While Professor Ritchie is right to underline the inevitable movement towards "the industrial social modality", he may well be going too far in concluding that "the extended family must go". In India the joint family remains extremely powerful within industrial conditions; in the Philippines it has been one of the chief modes through which capital for Filipino commercial enterprise has been collected and used. In West Africa the family and tribal association remains strong even in an urban and industrial setting. Admittedly, these are cases where a majority culture has adapted. But if there is to be a Maori "Community" in urban conditions, it is perhaps more likely to come into being through these family traditions, modified only at certain essential points to meet the new environment. This is one of the most difficult issues in the transition from a peasant to a "modern" civilization all over the developing world, and it is most useful that Professor Ritchie has stated it so clearly. The book as a whole is a valuable contribution to the debate.

GUY HUNTER

WEST AFRICA UNDER COLONIAL RULE, by MICHAEL CROWDER; *Hutchinson*, 1968; pp. xv + 540; 84s.

The publisher's blurb suggests that this book should become the standard work on the rise and fall of colonialism in West Africa. This reviewer for one, however, hopes that it will not, as it lacks the impartiality and objectivity to be looked for in a standard work. As the author's preface shows, it is designed essentially as 'a comparative study of the different impact of French and British colonial rule on West Africans and their reaction to it', and this approach naturally permeates the book. The critical overtones are in fact, so strong that a title such as "A criticism of colonial rule in West Africa" would be far more appropriate.

However, there is no doubt a need, particularly in the colleges and schools of West Africa which the author presumably had in mind, for some such up-to-date overall survey, covering as it does the 60 years from 1885 to 1945 (and what changes took place in that time!) and virtually all territories of West Africa formerly under British and French control; and it is useful to have so much material assembled in a single volume. After introductory chapters on the 19th century background, the first two major parts deal with the European occupation of West Africa and with the establishment of colonial rule; the latter contains a general discussion of administration in theory and practice, and chapters on French and British administration in Africa, and on indirect rule in practice. Other major parts cover the colonial economy (including colonial development and commercial exploitation, the Lebanese, and monopolies), social change (including chapters on religion and education), and the beginnings of modern African politics and "the prelude to de-colonisation".

The book is not a work of original scholarship – the author admits that with few exceptions he has not been able to consult the archival sources – but it is a reasonably competent compilation from what is by now a tremendous mass of material, and Professor Crowder's journalist background has obviously stood him in good stead. Its chief merit from the historical point of view is perhaps that it incorporates some material from the considerable volume of recent research, particularly by African historians, which has been published in monographs and articles during the last decade or so. Its weaknesses are the sweeping nature of some of the generalizations, and the patently partisan approach, with too frequent lapses into tendentiousness.

With such a wide geographical and historical coverage, generalizations are unavoidable, and the history has to be drawn with broad strokes. But too often, particularly in his discussion and evaluation of administrative policies and indirect rule, Professor Crowder tends to over-simplify – generalizing for instance about "the administration" and "the administrator", and ignoring the very considerable differences, during the period under consideration, both in administrative policies and practice, and in the administrative personnel themselves, and their background, training and outlook. For instance, in discussing "the European administrator" on p. 16, the author refers to what he calls "his attitude that the African was a man without a history"; on p. 211 he says "there seems to have been a *general temperamental disposition* among British D.O's. [my italics] to assume the role of adviser to chiefs rather than to give them direct orders" (although the author elsewhere shows this approach to have been official policy); and on p. 5 one reads, "the educated African, 'the savvy boy' as he was so rudely called as late as the 1950's by *the British administrator*" [my italics] – a quite unpardonable generalization matched only by the extraordinary overstatement on p. 308 "Development jostled for priority in the minds of Governors with the problems of native administration and who should be awarded the O.B.E. or Légion d'Honneur."

Again, forced labour in territories under British control is discussed in general terms that gloss over the changes in attitudes and practice that took place through the years. (And in this connection, his reference – without a date – to the construction of "Manor House" at Iseyin completely overlooks

the punitive aspect of the operation; the justification for this is certainly debatable, but it cannot be ignored in any general assessment.) These random examples are not untypical of the tendentious over-simplification which continually aggravate the reader with a reasonable understanding of the situation.

It is certainly important that colonial policies and practice should be subjected to searching scrutiny and looked at from the point of view of the African (but not only from that of "the élite" so frequently referred to by Crowder); and a partisan treatment such as Crowder's is no doubt a useful contribution to the continuing debate; but it is certainly not a balanced survey. Throughout the book one feels that the author's main concern is to score off the administration which he is discussing at the time; the British are compared unfavourably with the French, the French suffer by comparison with the British, and yet the author seems unable to bring himself to commend either. (Only the German administration of Togo comes in for unstinted praise, and the white of this chapter seems as out of proportion as the black of the remainder.) Even where a chapter (Chapter III in Part 4) concludes with a quotation which seems to justify British policy – in their support of chiefs – it comes strangely after a series of criticisms of this very policy.

The author has some interesting comments on administrative theory and practice, though his contrast between Lugard's policy of indirect rule, which Crowder calls "interventionist" and the "non-interventionist" interpretation of it by Temple and his successors in Northern Nigeria is surely overdrawn. Many of Crowder's criticisms can certainly be accepted as valid, and there are many ways in which politicians and officials might well have acted differently if all the consequences could have been foreseen. But it is easy to criticize with the benefit of hindsight, and one finds here little sign of an appreciation of the circumstances in which the policies were formulated and the practical decisions had to be made, and which to some extent determined what was feasible at any given period. There is nowadays no lack of material from which the picture can be completed, even without reference to the archival sources; and a more understanding approach would have carried more conviction.

D. W. ARNOTT

THE BRITISH IN NORTHERN NIGERIA, ROBERT HEUSSLER; *Oxford University Press*, 1968; pp. 210; 42s.

This, the second of Professor Heussler's books on British Colonial Administration, casts a perceptive eye on the way in which Northern Nigeria was governed throughout the short period of sixty years in which it was a colony. Quite clearly, the fascination for him of this episode lies in the unique pattern of Anglo-African government that was built up there – "an extraordinary demonstration of co-operative government between two quite different breeds of men" as he describes it in his introduction. And for the informed reader the book reveals itself as an accurate, living, and nostalgic piece of work. For others, particularly those who are prone to go along with various current generalizations about this period of Britain's imperial past, there are a number of lessons to be learnt. For example, "colonialism", "indirect rule", and "elitism" have new light shed upon them.

The first chapter, which deals with the foundation of Anglo-African government and covers the first twenty or so years of this century, is an interesting account of a time of steady and empirical growth. Although it has been described before by other authors, Heussler brings out particularly vividly the difficulties, the fumblings and ultimately the achievements of that era. In a word, the scene had been set in those two decades for the coming years in which, despite the varying patters of life in the Region as a whole, the characteristic themes would remain constant; a rhythm of tradition and change.

The chapter on policy, one of the shortest in the book, points out quite rightly that it was really only at the beginning of the century, and in the 1950's, that "policy" ever became predominant. In the intervening years, there was the locally notorious attempt of Cameron to give a new direction and method to the whole development of the North; apart from that, "policy" was so seldom promulgated from above that it had, in fact, to be made and implemented locally, where, in Heussler's words the cutting edge of government lay. (The classic early attempt to lay down policy guide lines was, of course, made by Lugard in his "Political Memoranda" which Heussler, I think mistakenly, dismisses as of transitory value).

There are several noteworthy observations in the chapter on colonial government as a system of power: the imprint of British administrative procedures will last for many years to come; the system's most outstanding single characteristic was the scope it allowed at provincial level to individual initiative; yet this iniatiative had to accommodate itself within a hierarchy which, on its official occasions, was extremely formalized (Heussler clearly cannot understand this. The explanation perhaps is that some such formalization was essential for the maintenance of respect, and self-respect, in circumstances which were often trying and difficult. There are parallels to be drawn with service in the Armed Forces). The final illuminating point in this chapter is that even at its height there were only about 230 men in the Administrative service. (The population of the Region at that time was probably about 17 million and its area about 282,000 square miles.)

It is in the following two chapters, headed D.O.'s and Chiefs, and Touring, that Heussler reaches his apotheosis. What has gone before leads in to his conception of the basis of the whole system. "At the grass roots, Anglo-African government was Assistant District Officers touring the countryside on horseback". And he too, one feels, perhaps over-emphasizes that aspect of things. Nevertheless, there is much excellent descriptive writing of the daily round and the common task. He has captured the atmosphere, and some of the personality of the characters of those times, in a remarkable way. For example, no one who knows the present Emir of Gwandu can doubt that he did really say that the D.O.'s he and his Councillors remembered best were those who worked hard and the tough ones. (Nor is it difficult to recall, in imagination, the look in his eye as he said this.)

In his final chapter Heussler tries to sum up the impact of this period of unusual government which so intrigues him. He does so by examining what was happening in the 1950's, when the North was starting to awaken: this was a time when the system struggled hard to adapt itself to accommodate the

rising pressures for increased economic development borne of the political expectations that were bubbling over elsewhere in the country. The Northern Government of that time – and indeed until the murders of 1966 which brought it to an end – was "a super N.A." Had the wheel, in a sense, gone too much full-circle? And was the essential tragedy that Anglo-African government was, after all, too shallow-rooted? I suspect that Heussler, whose criticisms of what he found are very mild, would not agree.

As a postscript, mention must be made of Heussler's sources and the way he went about his work. In addition to published works, Nigerian Government archives, and the rich depository of personalized history to be found in the Colonial Records Project at Oxford, on all of which he drew extensively, he made great use of interviews with those who had played a part in the creation and the conduct of Anglo-African Government. Those whom he interviewed were a true sample, as varied in their talents and their outlook as was the service as a whole. This, plus the ability that Heussler must surely have, to sift and to assess, to accept or to discard, has lead to an extremely accurate and readable historical study.

D. E. GLASON

NIGERIAN ADMINISTRATION AND ITS POLITICAL SETTING, Ed. ADEBAYO ADEDEJI, *Hutchinson*, 1968; pp. xi, 162; 30s., 15s. (paperback).

THE TASK OF THE ADMINISTRATOR IN DEVELOPING SOCIETIES OF AFRICA, Ed. JAMES NTI, *Institute of Public Administration, Achimota*, 1968, pp. 140.

Is it a coincidence that we should simultaneously have two new books on administration and politics contributed by African civil servants from countries where the constitution has been suspended? Or is it just because there is a political vacuum in Nigeria and Ghana that some of the most capable public servants in the whole continent have found it not only at last possible but also, reading the "back to barracks" signs, currently imperative to set down the experience and lessons learned from manning a civil service in the heyday of political power, often so extravagantly and so exuberantly exercised by many of the elitist leaders of their respective First Republics? Whatever the case – and there is no lack of internal evidence to suggest the likelihood of it being a matter of when the cat's away – both these symposia deserve careful reading and reflection by everybody concerned with the weal and reputation of the public service in Africa.

The Nigerian volume, edited by the Director and of the Institute of Administration in the University of Ife, consists of a series of discussions devoted to the interaction of politics and administration, held during those weeks of rebirth and high hopes immediately following the coming to power of the military government in early 1966. Those who addressed the seminar included senior Nigerian civil servants, exclusively from the then politically torn Western Region, and a handful of academics (mostly expatriate) involved in government programmes at Nigerian universities. The Ghanaian volume constitutes the report of the 6th Inter-African Public Administration Seminar,

and is edited by Mr. Nti, Vice-Principal of the Institute of Public Administration at Achimota. It thus continues the annual series of seminars on Africanisation and the new-look civil services that started at Dar es Salaam in 1962. Both the range of the topics discussed under the rubric of administration in its political setting, and the wide interests of the different readers of this *Journal*, persuade your reviewer that on this occasion a synoptic guide to some of the valuable articles to be found herein is to be preferred to the customary evaluatory review.

Dr. Murray's two contributions, on "The impact of politics on administration" and "Interest groups and administration", emphasize how, because the prevailing attitude to officials is a carry-over from the colonial past, the focus for all demands is "Government", and within Government "the Administration". He also confirms the rumours current in 1965, namely that the Western regional government was planning to bring the civil service directly under political party control. Professor O'Connell, always stimulating to read, returns to a subject that he has written on elsewhere, "The politics of modernization and its effect on administration". But it is Mr. Ayida who contributes the most important chapter in the whole book when he contrasts the contribution of politicians and administrators to Nigeria's national planning. Here we have a first-class, and – given the political circumstances of the new African civil servants – unique description from the inside (Mr. Ayida was Permanent Secretary to the Federal Ministry of Economic Development) of the political and administrative forces that were at play during the formulation and partial execution of Nigeria's 1962–1968 Development Plan. This is a major contribution to the literature on African administration today, and clearly one that would never have been made had the politicians not fallen from grace a few weeks earlier. If Mr. Ayida is severe on the Nigerian civil servants for pampering their new political masters, he equally blames the departing expatriates for having debased the image of the top senior civil servant as the rightful adviser and confidant in the decision-making process. Nor is his definition of the sand in the Nigerian works any less uncompromising: "the regional-tribal nexus and sectionalized political party rivalry . . . and inordinate ambition . . . made rational plan administration in Lagos impossible".

In many ways the most instructive section, all the more welcome because of its break with the classical terms of reference of seminars of this nature, is that dealing with what is nakedly termed "Civil Service Politics". Here we have a senior "departmental" civil servant (Mr. Aluko) not only showing, but also showing his plausible reasons for, the professional classes' resentment at the entrenched pre-eminence of the Administrative Officer in the hierarchy of the Nigerian public services. Professor O'Connell, in further discussion of this unresolved argument, aptly recalls Lucian Pye's comment on how the Burmese took over the system but not the personal relations which are possible among a small group of expatriates in a foreign country. The parallel to Nigeria is a close one. There are papers by Mr. Keyinde and Mr. Okunoren on politics in the administration of the now disgraced public corporations (neither of them was likely to have debated the question "how far does political interference really go?" a month earlier), conventional thoughts by several participants on the role of administrators in the political process, and

a highly thought-provoking article by Dr. Ballard in which he draws attention to a suggestion that got nowhere in the early days of Nigerianization but is now worthy of close attention by Nigerians themselves, namely the advantages of the francophone *cabinet* or ministerial secretariat of mixed political and civil service members. Dr. Adedeji performs the editor's traditional and difficult role of bringing some sort of cohesion to the papers by a scene-setting introduction and a crystal-ball final chapter. If any one thing is to be learned from reading these papers, it is the justification of the editor's plea for a full-fledged inquiry into the administrative system of Nigeria; the creation of twelve states in the place of the four regions in no way lessens the urgency of his call for an Administrative Reforms Commission to insure against the return of what he calls "the old order".

The Ghana volume consists of a neat summary-essay by Mr. Nti and eight of the background papers. These include first-rate contributions by three of the leading names attached to Ghana's public service affairs (all "expatriate" in one sense or another): Mr. Adu on "The administrator and change", Mr. Gardner on the shift from colonial rule to local administration, and Mr. Anderson's confidential account of the commission set up by the NLC (National Liberation Council) in 1968 to reorganise Ghana's civil service. Two of the papers on the administration of development were presented by top ECA (Economic Commission for Africa) staff. In the section on closer intra-African relations, the rather pedestrian analysis of registry routine by a writer of ambassadorial rank is compensated by a novel and exciting examination of diplomatic representation among African states by Ghana's ambassador to the USA, serving to remind us that "public" administration is what it says and is no longer exclusively associated with Home Civil Service or Local Government affairs. The two books converge in opportune self-criticism now allowed by the change in government; Mr. Gardner's perceptive dictum could easily have been taken from either volume: "Ministers are often too approachable and liable to decide requests without adequate grounds; civil servants are often too unapproachable and liable to refuse requests without examining the cases adequately. This leads to a proliferation of approaches to ministers, who are considered to be the only persons in the ministries with the power and the desire to help, increases the difficulties of the civil servants, and widens the gulf between them and their political chiefs".

Three final reflections. One, everyone connected with Nigerian administration will welcome the repeated tributes to the head of what was at one time the best civil service in independent Africa, Chief Adebo; its giddy decline since he left it is surely one of the strongest proofs of the necessity for a strong leadership within a civil service in Africa. Two, what are the implications for the past and the future of Ghana's civil service bent on improvement (witness the NLC Commission) which has so many of its former top men away in international organizations?* Thirdly, the absence of consideration of and consultation with francophone politico-administrative practice surely lends weight to the importance of Dr. Ballard's directing our eyes to the *cabinet* model.

**Since this review was written the recall to Ghana of J. H. Mensah from E.C.A. in Addis Ababa has been announced.* (Ed.).

Both pre-coup Nigeria and Ghana had cause to be proud of the calibre of most of their top administrators and to place justifiable hopes in the highly-trained (by British standards) cadres graduating from their universities. After the military take-over, each country – but especially coup-dazed Nigeria – had cause to be thankful for the exemplary way their civil servants kept the administrations going . . . and going well, often under circumstances as strained and as frustrating as when they had politicians breathing down their necks and putting their vexatious fingers in the administrative pie. Now some of these able men have taken advantage of the suspension of political power to record and assess their experience of operating in a highly-charged political climate (not *per se* a bad thing). That the present political vacuum will be only temporary is not only obvious (Ghana, unimpeded by the disaster of a civil war, is already advancing along the road that leads back to civilian rule) but is also eminently desirable. Nobody today believes that politics can be separated from administration. All that now remains in our context is to see to what extent both the politicians and the administrators are willing to have learned their respective lessons from the experience here so clearly extracted and the precepts so admirably resolved. These two important symposia focus on many of the quintessential, built-in and potentially corrosive problems of administration in political Africa today.

A. H. M. KIRKE-GREENE

INTERNATIONAL AND COMPARATIVE LAW OF THE COMMONWEALTH, Edited by ROBERT R. WILSON; *Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press*; 1968. x and 247 pp.; $9.

This book is no. 33 in a series published for the Duke University Commonwealth Studies Center and reproduces eight papers presented at the conference on International and Comparative Law of the Commonwealth, which took place at Duke University in October 1966, but not the discussion which followed presentation of each paper. The papers were, "The Role of Law in Political Development" by Professor Ralph Braibanti; "The Commonwealth and State Succession" by Professor R. Y. Jennings; "Colonial Participation in International Legal Processes" by Professor David R. Deener; "The Impact of Islamic Law on Commonwealth Legal Systems" by Professor J. N. D. Anderson; "The Common Law and Native Systems of Law" by Professor L. C. Green; "International Rendition in United States-Commonwealth Relations" by Professor Alona E. Evans; "Extraterritorial Applications of Antitrust Legislation as Viewed from the Standpoint of Commonwealth States" by Mr. Ivan R. Feltham and "The Commonwealth and International Sanctions: Two Cases" by Professor H. and Mrs. R. F. Taubenfeld. These are followed by a conspectus prepared by Mr. Robert R. Wilson.

The title of the book is unfortunate since none of the contributors does more than deal to a limited extent with some aspects of his particular subject, as a number of them indeed admit (e.g. pp. 64, 131 and 174). Some contributors also disclaim any suggestion of originality (e.g. p. 27) or newness (e.g. p. 74) for parts of their work; and other contributors might with justice do the same. As will be observed, the subject matter of these papers could scarcely be more

diverse. Apart from the first, which is of a general nature, their sole connecting link is that they all touch upon legal events or problems in Commonwealth countries. While each paper will be of value to students in the particular field which it covers, and the material collected in this volume is an important accretion to the store of Commonwealth data being amassed at Duke University, it is difficult to visualize the class of reader to which this volume, taken as a whole, will appeal. Perhaps its most useful function will be as a reference book in legal and general libraries where it may be consulted by those who are interested in one or other of its component parts.

H. H. MARSHALL

BUREAUCRACY AND RURAL DEVELOPMENT IN MALAYSIA, A STUDY OF COMPLEX ORGANIZATIONS IN STIMULATING ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN NEW STATES, by GAYL D. NESS; *University of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles,* 1967; 52s.

"Thus, although the specific frame of reference is Malaysia, Mr. Ness's findings, based on several years of research on the spot, have *relevance* for students of other developing nations and for students of complex organizations and social structure."

That is a quotation from the publisher's dust cover. Normally, while reviewing a book one does not take notice of the "sales talk" printed on the jacket. An exception is being made here because in this case the publisher's claim is based on the author's own style of presentation of his conclusions in generalized terms. The author is Director of the Centre for South and South-East Asian studies at the University of Michigan, U.S.A. He has undoubtedly made an excellent contribution to the understanding of the evolution of bureaucracy and its role in rural development in Malaysia. It is only when he states his conclusions, based apparently on only one country case study, as though they are valid for the region as a whole or for all new states, that the reader is apt to feel that the author has somewhat overstepped the mark.

Take for instance, such statements as " . . . rather than emerging in the process of nation building, the bureaucracy antedates the nation in the New States" or " . . . the assumption of power occurs over an already extensive and complex organization". It is common knowledge that in many new states there was hardly anything like a "system" of public administration. In quite a few cases, there was only an arrangement for the maintenance of law and order and an agency for the collection of revenue. When the time came for the assumption of power by the new national government, they had very largely to build up the apparatus of public administration from scratch. The very justification for the establishment of "OPEX" to help new states develop a framework of administration under the auspices of the United Nations is evidence enough that Mr. Ness's conclusions are not so widely "relevant" as he claims.

Again, no serious student of South and South-East Asia would agree with the author's unqualified statement that "of these countries, only the Federation of Malaysia and Singapore have achieved any success in their development programme. Malaysia and Singapore *alone* appear to have made serious

and sustained attempts to translate their development programme into action." In fact, he observes, "In this depressing scene Malaysia appears *freakishly unique*." This is less than fair even to Malaysia and much less so to other countries in the region.

The author sets for himself the task of studying a triangular paradigm comprising the recent use of complex organizations (*a*) to stimulate modernization (*b*) in the new states (*c*). The book begins with a sketchy and at places rather an oblique[1] historical review. There follows an account in precise detail of the evolution of three complex organizations namely, the Rural and Industrial Development Administration (RIDA), the Federal Land Development Authority (FLDA) and the Ministry of Rural Development in Malaysia. That is the best portion of the book; it is very informative. Finally he draws the following conclusions from his study of the three factors referred to supra which he takes as parameters of analysis.

(i) ". . . the emergence of output goals as dominant can be seen as a natural adjustment of development organizations to basic forces in their environments";

(ii) "Organizations as important to the new society as the new development organizations had to reflect political balance between the major ethnic groups";

(iii) ". . . in a society lacking multiple organizational centres of initiative and power, only the government could provide the strength and the control mechanisms necessary for the successful stimulation of development".

The author also puts forward his own thesis that power (political) and success in public investment are cyclical in nature; more political power results in better success and more success results in greater power!

It is not clear how the conclusions reached are relevant to the three original parametres; viz. complex organizations, modernization and new states. Examples could be cited to show them to be invalid as easily as others could show them to be true. After all, most bureaucracies in the world, whether in the developed or developing countries, are output goal minded. This is nothing exclusive to new states. Similarly, the cyclical relationship between power and success is not a startlingly new observation. But the manner in which the author has put it forward, it would seem as though it was furthered as a case for centralized planning which in fact it is not.

What one would have liked to see is the analysis of how the use of political power in a country which is both democratic (or non-totalitarian) and poor (low-income, under-developed) affects the pace, the pattern and the goals of development. One misses that in this book.

Also, in any study of public administration (bureaucracy included) one would have expected an analysis of leadership, programme-content, organization (structure) and administration (functions). In this book, while there are

[1]e.g. the observation that the "majority of new states will have difficulty in matching the rates of growth achieved during the best period of colonial rule."

repeated references to the power wielded by the Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Rural Development, there is little assessment of the qualities of leadership that might have accounted for his success. Leadership is one factor which can make a world of difference even in a bureaucracy.

One hard lesson of such studies as this is that facts do not speak for themselves; interpretation is essential. And interpretations are meaningful only to the extent that insight is gained into the cultural milieu that surrounds the subject of study, as for instance, Bowles, Galbraith and Myrdal score over authors in the perceptive insight with which they interpret the facts of development in new states.

P. D. KULKARNI

Other Books Received

BRITISH DEVELOPMENT POLICIES – NEEDS AND PROSPECTS

1969, Ed. JAMES LAMBE; *Overseas Development Institute, London*; pp. 79; 12s. 6d.

This is O.D.I.'s third annual review and, once more, a cogent and forceful advocacy of aid, and more aid, is provided to counter the critical attitudes of those who mistakenly believe that budgetary restrictions necessitated by Britain's economic plight call for cuts in the aid programme notwithstanding its negligible effect on the balance of payments.

As advocates of Aid, O.D.I. stand as eloquent advocates of an indpendent Ministry of Aid and argue strongly against the mooted merger of the Ministry of Overseas Development with some other Ministry – be it Foreign and Commonwealth Office, Board of Trade or the Treasury ("bizarre variants"). O.D.M., in fact, receives warm praise in contrast to somewhat scornful comment on other Departments of State.

Attention is paid to the World Food Problem. Are the manic depressionists right – will the Seventies see disastrous famine, or was the 1968 Cambridge Conference right in believing that the agricultural breakthrough was in sight and that unemployment not famine would be the major problem facing the Third World in the coming decades. "Might it not be" O.D.I. asks, "that the Cassandras have pitched their prophecies of doom a little short?" Can the technological ingenuity of man combine with sufficient political maturity so to ensure a fair distribution of supplies? If not, then in the long term grave food shortages may well be inevitable. As to the more immediate future, the need to beware of over-optimism is stressed and a cautiously hopeful conclusion is reached that notwithstanding the complexity of the world food problem, fears of vast famines in the coming decades are largely unfounded.

THE COLOMBO PLAN, 1968; *H.M.S.O. London*, 1969; pp. 428; £1 15s.

When so much is ignorantly written to denigrate aid to the Third World, the hard facts of progress contained in this, the sixteenth Annual Report of the Consultative Committee of the Colombo Plan, makes heartening reading.

To quote from the stimulating chapter entitled The Task Ahead, one finds "An optimistic – and welcome – refrain resounds throughout the Country Chapters of this Report. The new agricultural strategy – high yielding varieties of food grains, more irrigation, more fertilizers and pesticides, more credit, better farm management, and so on – has been universally welcomed. All countries in the region recognise t industrial growth will be retarded unless it is under-pinned by raising agricultural output. There is no doubt that this strategy can succeed. The region has the natural and human resources required, and the new technology is known, proved and now available throughout the region". "This is still, however, only the first step – increased output of food. More emphasis on population control and equitable income distribution is necessary if this increased agricultural output is to be translated into higher incomes and consumption per head for the many and not for the few. Among beneficiaries of the new agricultural strategy in most developing countries are the richer farmers who have the means to assure themselves of supplies of the necessary inputs as well as the knowledge to apply the new techniques successfully."

Reference to this Report is also to be found in the Quarterly Notes Section.

EXPERIENCES WITH AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT IN TROPICAL AFRICA, by JOHN C. DE WILDE. *John Hopkins Press, Baltimore, Maryland*; Vol. I, The Synthesis, with Index; pp. 253; 52s. Vol. II, The Case Studies; with maps and index; pp. 466; £5 (combined price, both volumes £6).

Published for the World Bank, this major study was directed by John C. de Wilde formerly Acting Director of the Economic Staff of the Bank.

Agriculture will, for the foreseeable future, remain the basis of the economy of Africa. Many newly-independent African countries have set their sights on rapid

industrialization as the panacea for overcoming poverty; ports, harbours, railways have been found easier to build than the complex and difficult task of developing agriculture. Yet agriculture and animal husbandry employ some 80% of the people and provide the major source of foreign exchange, 90% of the people live in rural areas. Beyond all doubt the economic and social development sought by all African countries can only be achieved through agricultural development. Hence the great importance of these volumes which should be readily at the elbow of policy makers in all African Ministries of Agriculture and in the Ministries responsible for development planning, and to hand to those in donor countries responsible for providing aid to agricultural projects in Africa.

We much regret that we have not been able to publish the full review of this work which was originally commissioned. At this late stage we can do no more than commend it to our readers and to quote a few passages that come from the final Summation Chapter in the first volume:

"There is an urgent need to push development work on equipment and to experiment on a pilot scale with different types of equipment and draft power. We have stressed the importance of vesting in an appropriate international institution, responsibility for encouraging and co-ordinating such work and, above all, for recording and analysing the results achieved so that countries may profit more fully from each other's experience". Intervention by Governments in the sphere of land tenure is considered likely to succeed only when:

"Land is becoming scarce and the by-products of this growing scarcity – litigation, fragmentation through sub-division by inheritance, and increasing objections to communal grazing – tend to frustrate development,

"profitable opportunities for the development of land exist,

"farmers have a genuine desire to develop,

"widespread popular support for this type of land tenure reform can be enlisted,

"farmers are given opportunities to participate very actively in carrying out the changes in land tenure, and

"the government is able to provide them with prompt and adequate assistance in developing their land upon the completion of the land reform."

"The whole problem of mobilizing and utilizing the personnel resources that are needed for the development of African agriculture should be examined carefully by interested international institutions in consultation with national agencies or organizations which have made such personnel available. It is not simply a task of finding more personnel, but also of exploring the means by which such personnel can acquire the knowledge of local conditions, particularly those affecting farm-level decisions, which is a prerequisite to their effective work whether they are engaged in research, extension, teaching or survey and planning work. The ways of inspiring an effective team approach must also be found. The development of African agriculture is so complex that it can hardly be confined to one discipline or to a number of disciplines acting more or less independently of each other."

AGRICULTURAL RESEARCH PRIORITIES FOR ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN AFRICA; Ed. M. G. C. McDONALD DOW; *United States National Academy of Sciences*; Three Volumes.

In the Quarterly Notes of this *Journal* (Vol. VII, Number 4 October, 1968), an account was given of the Abidjan Conference of April, 1968 which was highlighted by the establishment of an Association for the Advancement of Agricultural Sciences in Africa (A.A.A.S.A.). The full report of this important conference together with the addresses given and papers contributed has now been published.

OF ISLANDS & MEN – STUDIES IN PACIFIC HISTORY, by H. E. MAUDE; *Oxford University Press*, 1969; illustrated with Plates and Figures; bibliography; pp. 397; £5.

The general reader and certainly all who are interested in the islands of the Pacific will find five pounds well spent on this very well produced and admirably illustrated work of scholarship.

From the Gilbert Islands in the North West to Pitcairn in the South East, H. E. Maude takes his reader on a fascinating journey to look at discoveries, at the destiny of the Bounty mutineers, at the sandalwood of Raratonga, at the early salt pork trade of the Pacific, at the cultural impact made by beachcombers and castaways (and this latter study includes a very useful descriptive bibliography of Castaway's own literature). Written with the felicitous pen of one whose heart clearly lies in the South

Seas, this volume makes a fine start to the historiography of the Pacific, and provides the historian with some valuable new facts and sources for further research, besides at the same time exploding some of the long-accepted myths created by all too many romanticists.

RESTATEMENT OF AFRICAN LAW: KENYA II: THE LAW OF SUCCESSION, by EUGENE COTRAN; *Sweet & Maxwell, London,* 1969; with appendices and index; pp. 191; £3 18s.

The purpose of the Restatement Project is admirably set out by Professor Allot in his Introduction. The more complete the integration of the Courts systems, with issues of customary law no longer a comparative rarity before professional courts, all the more important is it for legal textbooks to be available – legal in wording as well as in content. The sooner reliance on sages of varying and differing expertise and on the amateur legal drafting of anthropologists can be replaced by appropriate, accurate and acceptable legal textbooks, the better will justice be administered.

Eugene Cotran is to be congratulated on the lucid manner in which he has set out the Customary laws of succession in Kenya in a volume that will be of inestimable value to Kenya Courts and to many literate litigants as well.

LAND LAW IN EAST AFRICA, by KRISHAN M. MAINI; *Oxford University Press*; Index; pp. 270; Shs. (E.A.) 30.

An up-to-date book that clearly sets out existing land law in the East African Community would have been welcome indeed to students and to land administrators.

Unfortunately, Mr. Maini's volume fails to accomplish this and a student is more likely to be bewildered than enlightened. A detailed review does not seem merited; it will suffice perhaps if a look is taken at the references to the Tanganyika mainland of Tanzania. Here the index is unfortunately of scant assistance; the Meru tribe referred to is that of Kenya only. The Chagga are omitted despite their unusual land tenure system, and sub-leasing of customary-held land on Kilimanjaro has long been common practice of which Mr. Maini is seemingly unaware. There is a footnote reference to Forest land in Nyarabanja tenure – but this form of tenure was abolished by the Tanzania Government before the book was published. There are references to new government policies, e.g. revised villagization schemes, but policy is not law until there is legislation. There is a useful commentary on the 1963 Freehold Conversion Act, but by and large the treatment seems cursory and there is no attempt to assess the administrative and social problems created by any of the new legislation that is mentioned.

AFRICAN PENAL SYSTEMS, Ed. ALAN MILNER; *Routledge & Kegan Paul, London*; index; pp. 501; £3 10s.

This is an unusual and stimulating book on criminology. The editor introduces fifteen specialist contributors, among them British, American, African, French, Portuguese and Egyptian, whose studies cover a broad cross section of Africa – North, South, East, West and Central. The catholicity of the editor's selections both author-wise and subject-wise greatly enhance the value of this composium. The first nine chapters describe existing penal systems and the remaining six provide detailed examination of Psychiatry and the criminal, penal policies in francophone Africa, Capital Punishment in South Africa, sentencing patterns in Nigeria, imprisonment in East Africa and an historical study of the Ghana prison system.

Sociologist, lawyer, prisons manager – all concerned with penal problems in Africa will find much useful knowledge and much food for thought.

SANTÉ ET DÉVELOPPEMENT EN AFRIQUE, by LOUIS-PAUL AUJOULAT; *Armand Colin, Paris*; pp. 285.

The author is Professor at the International Institute of Public Administration in Paris, for which this book is published. Health in the Third World is of vital importance to the whole world: Professor Aujoulat points out the inter-continental spread of such epidemics as Asian flu' and as he stresses *Il n'y a donc plus de frontière pour la maladie*: Ergo planning for health and the place of health in planning, co-operation for world health purposes, are the common concern of all countries. Professor Aujoulat looks at the prospects for better health conditions in Africa at the end of the century and concludes that international solidarity on the health front must be an integral part of all aid programmes – for the well-being and security of mankind.

MAN IN AFRICA, Ed. MARY DOUGLAS & PHYLLIS M. KABERRY; *Tavistock Publications*; with Foreword, illustrations, maps, bibliography, index; pp. 372; 52s.

This volume contains nineteen essays by a notable team of anthropologists to mark the twenty-first anniversary of Professor Daryll Ford's appointment to the Chair of Anthropology in University College, London. While the appeal is principally that for collectors of Africana, there is much of interest for all those who are interested in the study of social anthropology. For this is not just a selection from published writings, it is of much greater value, as the contributions have been specially prepared for the occasion, and contain much original thought. Professor Banes writing on "The Politics of Law" in which, drawing on Northern Rhodesia experience, he relates the functioning of the law to the existing political process, provides a chapter of particular interest to readers of this *Journal*.

ORIGINS OF EUROPEAN SETTLEMENT IN KENYA, by M. P. K. SORRENSON; *Oxford University Press*; with illustrations, maps, appendices and index; pp. 320; (E.A.) 30s.

Mr. Sorrenson's history covers the formative years of the modern history of Kenya and should be essential reading for all those who wish to understand fully the controversies, the struggles and the political and administrative background to the era that finally brought Independence to the one-time British East Africa Protectorate.

The history is well and sympathetically told and its particular value is that a pioneer period is assessed in its own context and not merely as a minor part of greater subsequent events. Among the many 'Ifs' of history none perhaps is more intriguing in East Africa than the offer of a Kenya highland home for Zionists, made by Joseph Chamberlain and finally rejected only through Chaim Weizmann's determination that his people should not be diverted from the Palestinian goal. Another 'If' was the real possibility that H.M.G. would pursue a policy of Indian rather than European settlement in Kenya.

It is surprising that having withstood the strong pressures of early settlers, having followed the First War with the Devonshire declaration on African paramountcy of interests, the British Government legalized the exclusiveness of the European White highlands so late in the day that it was really little more than a useful fan to the newly kindled fires of nationalism. Nonetheless the reader may well decide that despite the rough and ready early methods of administration, the end product was probably as good or at least as practical as any of the options open at that time, for the eventual prosperity of an Independent Kenya.

THE AFRICAN CHURCHES OF TANZANIA, by T. O. RANGER; *East Africa Publishing House* pp. 28; (EA) Shs. 2.50.

While the theme of Independent African Churches could make an interesting vignette on one aspect of christianity in Tanzania, Professor Ranger has unfortunately produced a trivial and disappointing pamphlet. The author does not seem to realise to what a considerable extent in the protestant field, Tanzanian Africans have long controlled the day-to-day management of their Church affairs. The general reader might well infer that, in Rungwe, independent churches held a strong and influential position – far from it, not even when the ebullient Timothy Sankey enjoyed a period outside the Moravian fold. On the other hand despite only very rare visits from any pastor at all, secular church members ran parishes in the Bundali mountains so successfully on their own that one sensed the fine spirit of a Moravian village almost as soon as one walked into it. The Rev. Mbokigwe at Ibungu was in charge of an effectively African Parish, not of a "mission". Many cases such as these could be cited. Independent churches wherever they may be have to struggle to survive; approval of polygamy can help, but the disgruntled "established" churchman who quarrels with his bishop and sets up on his own will not often have the funds, fervour, influence or expertise needed to succeed – as was shown in Manyoni in the early Nineteen Sixties.

LOUIS BOTHA OR JOHN X. MERRIMAN: THE CHOICE OF SOUTH AFRICA'S FIRST PRIME MINISTER, by N. G. GARSON; *University of London, The Athlone Press*; pp. 47; 15s.

N. G. Garson has written a most interesting vignette of South African history, showing clearly how Botha was a virtual certainty for first Prime Minister with Merriman

scarcely in the race. Only had Botha withdrawn would there have been any other choice and his threat to do so if Natal and the Free State held out for more cabinet posts than could be agreed to, might well have been no more than a lever to ensure their "submission".

The Victory of Transvaal over the Cape on the issue of a Premier, had the long term grim consequence that any hope of the Cape's spark of liberalism on "the native question" being kept alive, was foredoomed.

FRAGRANT HARBOUR, by G. B. ENDACOTT & A. HENTON; *Oxford University Press,* with illustrations, maps, appendices and index; pp. 178; 15s.

This short, excellently produced and modestly priced history of Hong Kong is intended for students; but in fact no traveller to the Far East could possibly find within a few pages, a more interesting and comprehensive guide to a remarkable British Colony where Communist China meets the West, a flourishing trading community occupies an unusual and often tense entrepot, and whence China finds a valuable source of foreign currency for her economy.

STUDIES IN MANAGEMENT

No. 6 **Staff Reporting & Staff Management,** by EDGAR ANSTEY; *George Allen & Unwin*; pp. 96; 12s. 6d.

No. 7 **Managerial & Professional Staff Grading,** by JOAN DOULTON & DAVID HAY; *George Allen & Unwin*; pp. 141; 18s.

These two excellent small books were published for the Royal Institute of Public Administration and are now re-issued as paperbacks, and should appeal to keen executives with an eye on their promotional prospects as well as to those in managerial and establishment offices who have not yet obtained their copies.

Mr. Anstey's stimulating study has been largely based on considerable civil service experience, while Messrs. Doulton and Hay set out a system of job evaluation for managerial and professional posts which has been developed mainly in the B.B.C.

PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION – THEORY AND PRACTICE, by C. P. BHAMBHRI; *Jai Prakash Nath, Meerut City, India*; appendices, bibliography, index; pp. 674.

Penguin Modern Economics

Dr. Bhambhri has revised and brought up-to-date this fourth edition of his voluminous work on Public Administration. The field covered is very broad and while the study is largely in the context of India there are useful references to Western administrative systems. This is a valuable textbook for Indian students.

INTERNATIONAL FINANCE, Ed. R. N. COOPER, index; pp. 384; 9s.

INTERNATIONAL TRADE, Ed. JAGDISH BHAGWATI, Index; pp. 414; 9s.

INFLATION, Ed. R. J. BALL & PETER DOYLE, Index; pp. 388; 9s.

Nowhere other than in a Penguin series would one be likely to find such a quantum of learning at such a minimum of cost. Each volume contains selected readings; those in International finance are largely concerned with industrialised countries but there is much that is applicable to the Third World; those on International trade have wider applicability, though again it is the advanced nations that receive particular attention. The readings on Inflation are also concerned with the more advanced economies. These books are for those with an adequate understanding of economics and not for beginners in this field.

METHODOLOGIES OF EDUCATIONAL PLANNING FOR DEVELOPING COUNTRIES, by J. D. CHESSWA. *Unesco: International Institute for Educational Planning*; Vol. I: Text; with appendices, bibliography, index; pp. 106. Vol. II: Tables; pp. 84; Two Volumes (not sold separately) 41s.

J. D. Chesswa has produced a manual for departments of education to help those actively engaged in the realities of educational planning. The reader like the students who appear in statistical form is told clearly how he should set about his reading, and warned that he must have a pass mark in maths if he is to gain benefit from his lessons. No doubt these volumes could be of very real value to education policy makers provided they have staff officers to apply the tables and work out the sums.

COLLECTION OF YUGOSLAV LAWS – LAWS ON JOINT INVESTMENTS OF ENTERPRISES, translated by BORIVOJE P. LJOTIC; *Institute of Comparative Law, Beograd*; pp. 175.

A useful source of information is provided about the legal relations in Yugoslavia concerning foreign investment in domestic organizations.

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